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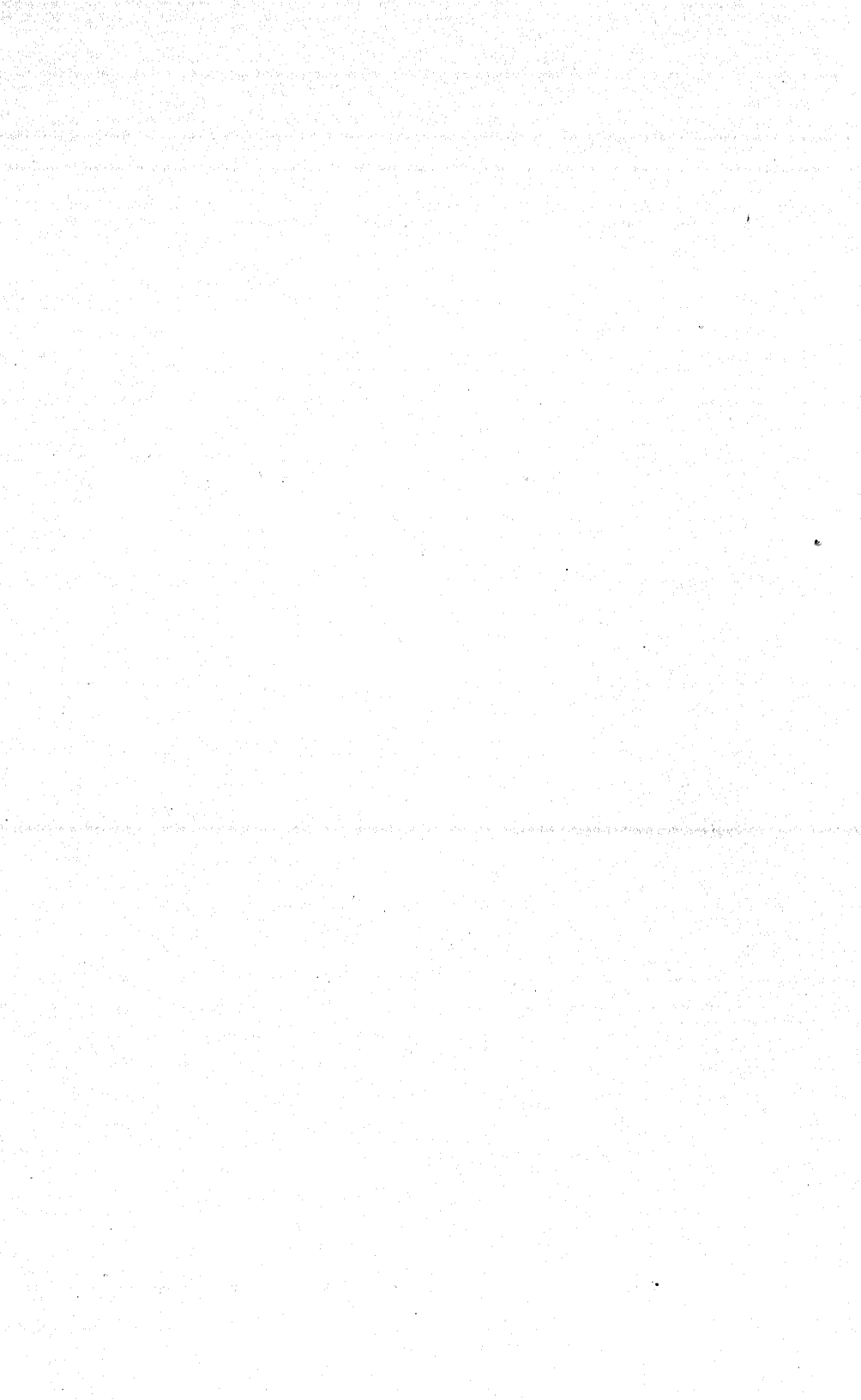
Publications of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii
Volume 1, Number 4

REPORT
of the
Historical Commission
of the
Territory of Hawaii



FOR THE TWO YEARS ENDING
DECEMBER 31, 1926

Printed by
Honolulu Star-Bulletin
Merchant Street
1927



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MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

HON. GEORGE R. CARTER, President.

MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President.

DR. K. C. LEEBRICK, Secretary-Treasurer.

R. S. KUYKENDALL, Executive Secretary.

The office of the Commission is at the
University of Hawaii,
Honolulu, T. H.

Major T. M. Spaulding
gift
6-2-1927

C O N T E N T S

	Page
1. Letter of Transmittal.....	4
2. Report	5
3. Appendix A	19
Secret Instructions to Lord Byron, Sept. 14, 1824.	
4. Appendix B	21
Politics in Hawaii in 1853.	
5. Appendix C	37
British Influence in Hawaii during the Reigns of Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V.	

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Honolulu, Hawaii,
January 25, 1927.

To His Excellency Governor W. R. Farrington
and to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii:

The Historical Commission presents herewith a report of its work during the two years ending December 31, 1926. In addition to the report proper there are three appendices containing documents selected from a much larger number obtained by the Commission from the archives of the United States Government in Washington and from the British Public Record Office in London. The documents printed herein are intended to illustrate certain important phases of Hawaiian history, and to show the character of the material being obtained by the Commission from the sources indicated.

Respectfully submitted,

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION,
GEORGE R. CARTER, President,
MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President,
K. C. LEEBRICK, Secretary-Treasurer.

REPORT

of the

HISTORICAL COMMISSION

For the Two Years Ending
December 31, 1926

Duties of the Commission

By reference to previous reports of the Historical Commission and to Act 120, S. L. 1921, as amended by Act 139, S. L. 1923, it will be seen that the duties of the Commission consist chiefly in the preparation and publication of three historical works:

- (1) A school textbook of Hawaiian history;
- (2) A history of Hawaii's part in the World War;
- (3) A revised history of Hawaii for general reading and reference.

In addition, the law provides that the Commission

"shall investigate and compile information upon places, structures, monuments and things in the Territory of Hawaii of historical importance and interest, and shall serve as a central advisory body in matters relating to the preservation, marking and restoration of such places and objects of historical importance and interest. The commission is hereby authorized to advise and cooperate with local organizations in the work of preserving, marking and restoring such places and objects, to take independent action where local organizations do not exist, and to make recommendations to the governor and to the legislature in reference to such matters."

Organization—Meetings

No change has been made either in the personnel or in the organization of the Commission during the two years under review. During this period eight meetings have been held, or an average of one each quarter.

School Textbook of Hawaiian History

The Commission has completed the work assigned to it under this heading. The school textbook has been published, is now on the market, and will be used during the second half of the present school term in the public schools of the Territory. •

The manuscript of this history was completed while the Legislature was in session in 1925, and in accordance with the requirements of the law was submitted to the Legislature for its approval. After careful consideration by the appropriate committees of the two branches of the Legislature, the text was approved and its publication authorized by the adoption of the following Concurrent Resolution, which was introduced by Hon. John C. Anderson, Chairman of the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives:

“WHEREAS, by Act 120 of the Session Laws of 1921, as amended by Act 139 of the Session Laws of 1923, ‘The Historical Commission’ was created to compile a revised history of the Hawaiian people, and a school text book of Hawaiian history; and

“WHEREAS, the said Commission has prepared a school text book of Hawaiian history, and has submitted the same to His Excellency, the Governor of Hawaii; and

“WHEREAS, it is provided by Act 139 of the Session Laws of 1923 that before the same shall be published, it shall have been approved by either the Legislature of the Territory or by the Trustees of the Hawaiian Historical Society; now, therefore, be it

“RESOLVED by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that the school text book of Hawaiian history prepared by the Historical Commission is hereby approved and the Commission is hereby authorized to publish the same; provided that before publication, the book shall be copyrighted in the name of the Territory of Hawaii; and be it further

“Resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the Governor of the Territory and to the Historical Commission.”

While the Macmillan Company of New York, with whom the Historical Commission had made a contract for the publication of the book, stated that it could, if necessary, get the work out during the summer of 1925, the Department of Public Instruction suggested that it would be desirable not to hurry the publication, in view of the fact that the Course of Study Committee was then engaged in the work of revising the course of study in history and desired time for a thorough study of the question of placement of the new text. It was therefore decided to let the process of publication take the ordinary course; and this has been of advantage.

age in the long run, since it allowed time for careful editorial work, a better selection of illustrations, and for thorough proof reading.

The publication of the book involved a great amount of detail work and extensive correspondence with the publisher in New York. Great care was taken in reading the proofs, in order to avoid, as far as possible, the inadvertent errors and small slips that so frequently mar books of this character. In this connection we desire to place on record the fact that the Macmillan Company performed its part of the work in a highly commendable manner. Both the editorial and the mechanical departments cooperated most cordially with the Commission in the endeavor to produce a textbook that would be a credit to the Territory as well as to the Company. We have no hesitation in saying that from the mechanical standpoint the volume leaves little to be desired. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Legislature, the history is copyrighted in the name of the Territory of Hawaii.

The members of the Commission have been much gratified by the very favorable reception which has been accorded the new *History of Hawaii*. In the short time that has elapsed since the book was published, favorable reviews have appeared in the columns of the local newspapers; in addition letters of commendation and complimentary oral comments have been received from a large number of persons in the community well qualified to pass judgment on such a work. The *New York Times Book Review*, in its issue for December 12, printed a very appreciative review of the book, which, after noting the various features and contents of the volume, concludes with the following words:

"Of all the varied scenes of our national domain, there is none with a more fascinating background or more alluring setting and none with tougher problems to solve than our Territory of Hawaii, and Mr. Kuykendall has done a real public service in thus presenting its story so faithfully and in so readable a style."

War History

After the publication of the textbook of Hawaiian history, the next work to be undertaken intensively was that of preparing the history of Hawaii's part in the World War. It is the intention of the Commission to have this work completed and a contract for its publication made before the end of June, 1927, the printing to be done by some local company. Lorin Tarr Gill has been employed to assist the Executive Secretary of the Commission in the

preparation of this history. The work is progressing satisfactorily. Nearly all the necessary data is already in hand for writing the history of the Red Cross and other relief organizations, and a great quantity of material is available for compiling other divisions of the work.

In this connection we desire to direct the attention of the Legislature to the fact that there seems to be no legal method provided for the distribution of this war history after it has been published, except to some half dozen or so public libraries and public institutions within the Territory. In reply to an inquiry from the Commission, the Attorney General has rendered an opinion substantially to that effect. We therefore respectfully suggest that the Legislature give to the Historical Commission authority to fix a price for the book and to sell the same and/or to arrange for its sale, and to determine whether any, and, if so, how many, copies shall be distributed free to libraries, public institutions, and otherwise.

General History of Hawaii

At a meeting of the Commission held July 6, 1925, various questions connected with the general history to be prepared by the Commission were discussed and the following action taken.

A division of the subject matter into three parts was approved, as shown in the following outline:

- (a) Ancient history (to discovery by Captain Cook). This part to show development reached by the Hawaiians independently of foreign influences. Origin of Polynesian race—Migrations—Discovery and settlement of Hawaii—Development of culture in Polynesia, with special reference to Hawaii, showing influence of environment—Traditional history to the reign of Kalaniopuu—Formal description of Hawaiian culture (industrial, social, religious, political) about the time of the discovery by Cook.
- (b) The Hawaiian Kingdom—Its development by Kamehameha—Effect of contact with foreigners—Development of new institutions—Etc., etc.—To the beginning (?) or end (?) of reign of Kalakaua.
- (c) Revolutionary and American periods—to present time.

It was agreed that the length of the entire work shall be approximately 1,000 pages, and that it shall be published in two or three volumes. The Commissioners voted that Dr. H. E. Gregory be requested to prepare the first part (a) of the history. Dr. Gregory accepted the invitation to write this part of the work,

and has already begun its preparation. As a necessary preliminary to the writing of the modern history of Hawaii, the Commission has actively continued the investigation of sources of information and the collection of documents.

Investigation in Washington and Elsewhere on the Mainland

Since there were known to be large quantities of unpublished original material relating to Hawaii in the government archives in Washington and in collections elsewhere on the mainland, the Commission considered it advisable to have a careful investigation made of these sources of information. Accordingly, the Executive Secretary spent the six months from July to December, 1925, in a trip to the mainland for the purpose of making such an investigation. The following extracts from the report made to the Commission by Mr. Kuykendall after his return from this trip will give an indication of the course and the results of the investigation.

"I proceeded to Portland, where I visited the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society and had the pleasure of meeting the Curator, Mr. George H. Himes, and the Librarian, Miss Nellie B. Pipes. By the aid of Miss Pipes I found seventeen letters written by missionaries in Hawaii to missionaries in Oregon between 1839 and 1844. Several of these letters were written by Levi Chamberlain, one by Daniel Dole, one by Mrs. Dole, some by J. S. Green, Lowell Smith, and others. Several of them deal with an incident in the early history of Punahou, of no great general interest; but some have interesting comments on local conditions, political and otherwise. There are three letters by Amos S. Cooke (1841, 1843, 1844) which are perhaps the best of the lot. They touch especially upon the school for the young chiefs, of which Mr. and Mrs. Cooke had charge; but other subjects are mentioned.

"From Portland I went direct to Victoria where I remained about a week, spending the greater part of available time in the Provincial Library and Archives. I met the Archivist, Mr. John Forsyth, and two of the principal members of his staff, Mr. John Hosie and Mrs. Cree. The Library and Archives have a fine collection, both of printed books and of manuscripts. There is not a great deal of direct and special interest to us that we do not already have here, but I found a few things and others may turn up. Perhaps the most important that I examined are the original journals of two fur-trading vessels, the *Halcyon* and the *Ruby*, which visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1792 and 1796 respectively.

The *Halcyon* journal is short and I copied out everything that I thought was worth taking. The other is much longer and has about twenty large pages dealing directly with our history. . . .

"Among the relics preserved in the Library is a dagger which purports to be the very dagger with which Captain Cook was killed. . . . I discovered an interesting connecting link between Hawaii and Victoria and Vancouver Island in the fact that the Scotch broom which grows so luxuriously thereabout and blooms in golden splendor in May and June, was first started from seed furnished about 1850 by Robert C. Wyllie, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"The British Columbia Archives have a number of carefully selected, well arranged, and well cared for exhibits, chiefly of documents and pictures, and my observation was that a good many visitors look at them every day. The same is true of the Oregon Historical Society, though the latter society has on display a great deal more purely museum stuff and their exhibits are greatly crowded. . . .

"The last week in August and the ten days preceding Thanksgiving I spent in Cambridge working in the Harvard College Library. My principal object in going there was to make a thorough examination of the Bryant and Sturgis Manuscripts and the Marshall Manuscripts mentioned by Dr. S. E. Morison and used by him to some extent in his article on 'Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands.'

"I first examined the Bryant and Sturgis Manuscripts. They consist of ten volumes; four of these are letter books and they were the only ones I thought it worth while to examine in detail. These four large volumes contain the drafts of letters sent by the firm of Bryant and Sturgis of Boston to their agents, ship masters, and correspondents in all parts of the world. They range in date from 1811 to 1872 with a gap of about eight years between 1829 and 1837 (between the third and fourth volumes of this set. Apparently one letter book is missing). They cover the entire life of the firm (at least while the original partners were alive) with the exception noted. The firm of Bryant and Sturgis was interested chiefly in the China trade with its extensions into the Pacific Ocean and to the Northwest Coast of America. These books tell an extremely interesting story of the enterprises of the American commercial adventurers of that period. I spent about five days going through these volumes and made more than thirty

pages of notes, extracts, etc., besides noting half a dozen letters that I thought we ought to have copied entire. My notes range in date from 1811 to 1828 and therefore cover the entire active period of the sandalwood trade in Hawaii. . . . In the hectic years just after the death of Kamehameha I, Bryant and Sturgis plunged heavily into the sandalwood trade, along with other traders. These letters give the details of their operations as directed from Boston, and give a vivid idea of some of the disastrous consequences which followed that wild period of unrestrained competition in the sandalwood business.

" . . . The Josiah Marshall Manuscripts consist of four folio volumes; two of them contain copies of letters received from 1821 to 1830, principally from China and the Pacific Ocean; the other two contain accounts. The two letter books are the only ones I examined. The letters from the Hawaiian Islands were written in the main by John Coffin Jones, Jr., who in addition to being the United States Commercial Agent here was the agent for the Boston firm of Marshall and Wildes. There are also a number of letters from Marshall's partner, Dixey Wildes, who was in Hawaii the greater part of the time from March, 1824, to January, 1827, and from various of their captains and supercargoes. These letters are important for the light which they throw upon conditions in Hawaii and the north Pacific during the period covered, especially in regard to trade and commerce. They look at the fur, sandalwood, and China trade from this end and therefore present a point of view different from that found in the Bryant and Sturgis Manuscripts.

"Besides these two sets of commercial papers, I found in the Harvard Library two other collections of documents of interest to us. One of these contains the manuscript minute books of the Hawaiian Club of Boston (3 volumes, 1866-1892) and a volume containing press copies of letters written by the secretary of the Club, Edward P. Bond, during the years 1866-1868. During those years the Hawaiian Club was interested in counteracting English influence in Hawaii, promoting a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii, and in general in urging all measures to build up American influence in the islands. The letter book is more important than the minute books.

"The other collection referred to is entitled, 'Correspondence of Edward P. Bond on Hawaiian Affairs, 1866-1869.' This material supplements that contained in the Hawaiian Club papers.

It contains letters written by Bond, who was the secretary of the Hawaiian Club and assistant secretary of the Boston Board of Trade, and also letters received by him from correspondents in the United States and in the Hawaiian Islands. Among these correspondents were A. F. Judd, H. A. P. Carter, J. F. B. Marshall, H. A. Peirce, General E. M. McCook, and some others. This collection is on the whole more valuable than the Hawaiian Club papers.

"The two months and a half from September 1 to November 15 I spent in Washington, the entire period being devoted to an examination of the Hawaiian diplomatic correspondence in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the State Department. . . . The greater part of my time was taken up with the examination of the Despatches, since these comprise the bulk of the material and are on the whole the most valuable. The volumes of Despatches include an immense quantity of inclosures (newspapers and newspaper clippings, broadsides, printed pamphlets, and copies of letters and documents). My general plan was to list all the Despatches (unless purely routine) and to give a clear indication of the contents of each one, to list the inclosures, and to put in the margin of my notes marks to indicate those documents which I considered important and those which I thought we ought to have copied. I made synopses of some despatches, copied extracts from some others, and in a few cases copied entire documents. I followed the same plan in dealing with the Instructions, Notes, and Legation Archives. Altogether I took nearly 600 pages of notes during the two months and a half, and these notes constitute a sort of calendar or index of the documents contained in the volumes examined. I was permitted to go through the whole period of diplomatic intercourse from 1843 to 1900 and it is not likely that anything of importance escaped notice.

"I was treated with great courtesy by Mr. David A. Salmon, Chief of the Bureau of Indexes and Archives, by the Assistant Chief, Mr. R. S. Drissel, and by their subordinates. I found them interested in the work we are doing here in Hawaii and desirous of being of service in all possible and reasonable ways.

"In addition to the time devoted to the diplomatic records, I spent about three days in the office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy, examining the record of the Court of Enquiry held in 1828 to examine into the conduct of Lieutenant John Percival while he was in Hawaii in the spring of 1826 with the schooner

Dolphin. This is a very bulky record, comprising upwards of 1000 closely written pages of evidence, exhibits, arguments, etc. It contains much that is of value in regard to local conditions in Hawaii during that period. Among the exhibits I found copies of three documents containing the appointment and letter of credence of William Sturgis of Boston as commercial agent of the Hawaiian government in the United States. These are dated May 3, 1826. The fact of this appointment is, I believe, an addition to our knowledge of Hawaii's foreign relations. It should be added, however, that Sturgis declined to accept the appointment. . . .

"On my way back to the coast I stopped at Salt Lake City, where I spent eight days in the office of the Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Through the kindness of Dr. Adam Bennion, Superintendent of Church Schools, to whom I had a letter of introduction from a mutual friend, I was introduced to the Church Historian, Mr. Joseph Fielding Smith, to the Librarian, Mr. A. W. Lund, and to Assistant Historian Andrew Jensen. I found that Mr. Jensen had some years ago collected a large amount of material dealing with the history of their mission to the Hawaiian Islands. This material has been brought together in three large manuscript volumes, which I was permitted to examine and make notes from as extensively as my time would allow. In this way I was able to obtain such information as I thought would be useful for our purpose. . . . I took advantage of a short stop in Berkeley to take a few additional notes in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. . . .

"In conclusion, I wish to say that I was everywhere treated with great courtesy and consideration, that I found existing a lively interest in the Hawaiian Islands and their history, and that I was impressed anew with the helpful and cooperative spirit shown by all who are engaged in any kind of historical work."

Following is a summary showing the quantity of notes taken during the course of this trip:

A. *State Department*

1. Despatches	422 pages
2. Instructions	61 "
3. Notes	51 "
4. Notes to	6 "
5. Legation Archives	51 "

Total 591 pages

B. *Navy Department*

Percival Court of Enquiry 30 pages

C. *Harvard College Library*

1. Bryant & Sturgis MSS 32
2. Josiah Marshall MSS 63
3. Hawaiian Club Papers 15
4. Bond Correspondence 38

 Total 148 pages

D. L. D. S. Church Archives 138 "

E. Oregon Historical Society 3 "

F. Archives of British Columbia 10 "

G. Bancroft Library 10 "

 Grand Total 930 pages

Afer his return to Honolulu, Mr. Kuykendall prepared a special report on the Hawaiian diplomatic correspondence in Washington, which has been printed as one of the publications of the Historical Commission (see below).

Documents Acquired

In addition to documents previously reported, the Commission has obtained 700 pages of transcripts from the State Department archives in Washington, 500 pages from the Public Record Office in London, and 30 pages of photostat copies from the Oregon Historical Society and Harvard College Library. All of these were selected with a view to supplementing material already available in Hawaii and all will be finally deposited in the Territorial Archives as permanent public records.

The bulk of the material received from Washington consists of copies of instructions to and despatches from the United States Commissioner to Hawaii for the years 1843-1853, but there are also a number of documents dealing with Z. S. Spalding's secret mission to Hawaii in 1868, the Moreno episode of 1880, the revolution of 1887, and the Japanese difficulties and annexation issue in 1897-8. A few of the despatches are printed as an appendix to this report.

The transcripts from the British Public Record Office include official reports and correspondence relating to the visits of Lord

Byron (1825) and Lord George Paulet and Rear Admiral Thomas (1843), and correspondence between the British Foreign Office and the British Consul General in Hawaii during the years 1853-1865. Portions of this material are printed as an appendix to this report.

The Commission continued the effort to obtain copies of documents from the French archives, but without success. Early in 1925 a report was received from M. Abel Doysié who had undertaken an investigation at our request. This report showed that there are in the National Archives in Paris a large number of documents that would be of great value for the work of the Historical Commission. In accordance with the prescribed regulations, a formal application was made through the United States Ambassador for permission to have some of these documents copied; but the application was denied, and it has therefore been impossible to obtain the material desired from this source relating to French policy in reference to Hawaii.

In connection with this general subject, the Historical Commission has watched with much interest and satisfaction the progress of the campaign being carried on by the Librarian of the Territorial Archives to have deposited in that public repository the large quantities of valuable historical material now in private hands throughout the Territory. The material thus being gathered in, together with that being obtained by the Historical Commission, added to what is already in the Archives and in libraries throughout the Territory, will give us a much surer foundation on which to erect a solid and enduring historical structure.

Historical Landmarks

The Legislature of 1925 by Act 49 appropriated the sum of \$2,500.00 for the purpose of preserving and marking certain specified historical landmarks. The law provides that the money is to be expended "by the superintendent of public works in accordance with plans approved by the historical commission." At the request of the Superintendent of Public Works, the Commission has presented to him some suggestions to aid him in preparing plans for carrying out the provisions of the law. At the time this report is in preparation, the Commission is waiting upon the action of the Superintendent of Public Works.

In the last published report of the Historical Commission (p. 16) it is noted that the Commission had recommended the res-

ervation as a public park of the old deserted village of Kaupo on the windward side of Oahu between Waimanalo and Makapuu Point, and that steps had been taken to carry that recommendation into effect. It subsequently developed that the law did not give sufficient authority for the action desired in that connection. The matter was presented to the Legislature and that body, by Act 50, S. L. 1925, amended the law in such a manner as to give the Superintendent of Public Works ample authority to "acquire and preserve for and in behalf of the Territory ancient heiaus and puuhonuas, or other places of historical interest, or the sites or remains thereof." Under the authority of this law the old village of Kaupo has been reserved as a public park of historical interest.

During the past year there has been a renewed interest in the old Russian fort at Waimea, Kauai; and it is hoped that it may be found possible to have that interesting historical monument preserved as a public park.

It is probable that the Historical Commission will present to the Legislature a supplemental report, making certain recommendations in regard to preserving and marking historic landmarks. The recommendations to be made will depend to some extent upon the results obtained from the carrying out of the provisions of Act 49, S. L. 1925.

Publications

During the two years under review the following publications have been issued by or under the auspices of the Historical Commission:

Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii for the two years ending December 31, 1924. (Publications of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii, Vol. I, No. 2.) 49 pages. Honolulu, 1926.

[Includes two documentary appendices, one containing extracts from the correspondence of David L. Gregg, U. S. Commissioner to Hawaii from 1853 to 1858; the other containing a selection of documents from the British Public Record Office illustrating the policy of Great Britain toward the Hawaiian Islands from 1824 to 1854.]

Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the Department of State, Washington, D. C. By

Ralph S. Kuykendall, Executive Secretary of the Commission. (Publications . . . , Vol. I, No. 3.) 56 pages. Honolulu, 1926.

[Includes two appendices, one containing an account of the Moreno episode of 1880 by U. S. Minister J. M. Comly, the other containing a report of an interview between Secretary of State John W. Foster and Paul Neumann, attorney for Queen Liliuokalani, at the Department of State, Feb. 21, 1893.]

A History of Hawaii. Prepared under the direction of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii. By Ralph S. Kuykendall. With introductory chapters by Herbert E. Gregory. 375 pages. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1926.

APPENDIX A

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD BYRON, SEPT. 14, 1824.

[Introductory Note.—An extract from these instructions was printed in the *Report of the Historical Commission . . . for the two years ending December 31, 1924*, p. 34. That extract was taken from a copy in the British Public Record Office, F. O. 58/3. A subsequent search in the Admiralty records brought to light a copy of the complete instruction; since this contains some rather significant passages omitted from the extract in F. O. 58/3, it is printed here.]

(British Public Record Office, Adm. 2/1693, pp. 241-245)

[Opens with the announcement of Mr. Charlton's being authorized to look after and protect British subjects in the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Islands. Orders to Lord Byron to land the bodies of the King and Queen at Owyhee. After the final disposal of the bodies of the King and Queen,] with such marks of respect as may be proper and acceptable to the Natives, you will proceed to make yourself acquainted with the existing government, and the internal state of this group of Islands, as well as with the influence and interests which any foreign Powers may have in them.

If any Disputes as to the Succession on the Death of the late King should unhappily arise, you will endeavour to maintain a strict Neutrality, and if forced to take any Part, you will espouse that which you shall find to be most consistent with the established Laws and Customs of that People.

You will endeavour to cultivate a good Understanding with the Government, in whatever native Hands it may be, and to secure, by kind Offices and friendly Intercourse, a future and lasting Protection for the Persons and Property of the Subjects of the United Kingdom.

As my Lords have directed that you should be furnished with the voyages of Captains Cooke and Vancouver, and that of Captain Kotzebue of the Russian Navy, and an essay on the commerce of the Pacific by Captain Macconochie,¹ you will be apprized of the position in which these Islands stand with regard to the Crown of Great Britain, and that His Majesty might claim over them a right of sovereignty not only by discovery, but by a direct and formal Cession by the Natives, and by the virtual acknowledgement of the Officers of Foreign Powers.

This right His Majesty does not think it necessary to advance directly in opposition to, or in controul of, any native Authority;—with such the

¹ The *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* reprints a pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the Propriety of Establishing a Colony on one of the Sandwich Islands. Being the Substance of a Memoir submitted to the Consideration of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for War and Colonies and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. By Alexander McKonochie, Esq., Commander Royal Navy. Edinburgh: Printed by Walker and Grieg. 1816." This pamphlet or the memoir which it refers to is doubtless the "essay on the commerce of the Pacific by Captain Macconochie" which was furnished to Lord Byron.

question should not be raised, and, if proposed, had better be evaded, in order to avoid any difference of Sentiment on an occasion so peculiar as your present Mission to those Islands; but if any Foreign Power or its Agents should attempt, or have attempted, to establish any Sovereignty or possession (of which a remarkable instance is mentioned, with disapprobation, by Captain Kotzebue),² you are then to assert the prior rights of His Majesty, but in such a manner as may leave untouched the actual relations between His Majesty and the Government of the Sandwich Islands; and if by circumstances you should be obliged to come to a specific declaration, you are to take the Islands under His Majesty's protection, and to deny the right of any other Power to assume any Sovereignty, or to make any exclusive settlement in any of that group.

In all matters of this nature, so much must depend on the actual state of affairs, which at this distance of time and place cannot be foreseen, that my Lords can give you no more particular instructions; but their Lordships confide in your Judgement and Discretion in treating unforeseen Circumstances according to the Principles of Justice and Humanity which actuate H[is] M[ajesty]'s Councils, and They recommend to You, that while You are ready to assert and vindicate H[is] M[ajesty]'s Rights, you will pay the greatest Regard to the Comfort, the Feelings, and even the Prejudices of the Natives, and will shew the utmost Moderation towards the Subjects of any other Powers, whom you may meet in those Islands.

H[is] M[ajesty]'s Rights you will, if necessary, be prepared to assert, but considering the Distance of the Place, and the Infant State of political Society there, You will avoid, as far as may be possible, the bringing these Rights into Discussion, and will propose that any disputed Point between Yourself and any Subjects of other Powers shall be referred to your respective Governments.

² This refers to the operations of the Russian Dr. Scheffer in Hawaii in 1815-1817.

APPENDIX B

POLITICS IN HAWAII IN 1853

[Introductory Note.—The following documents are intended to illustrate the disturbed political conditions in Hawaii during the year 1853. The agitation during that year was only part of a larger movement which included the threats of filibustering raids from California and the so-called "provisional cession" of Hawaii to the United States in 1851 and the negotiations for annexation in 1854. These documents are selected from the official despatches of Luther Severance, United States Commissioner to Hawaii, and from the despatches of William Miller, British Consul General in the Hawaiian Islands. We thus get both the British and American view of the situation. The despatches of Mr. Severance are copied from the originals in the State Department archives in Washington; those of Mr. Miller are from the originals in the British Public Record Office in London.]

I. DESPATCHES OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONER,
LUTHER SEVERANCE.

1. *Severance*¹ to *Everett*² (No. 67), February 10, 1853.
(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

* * * * *

I am not aware of any movements on foot at present in California by private adventurers to take forcible possession of these islands, but I see occasionally in California papers anonymous letters purporting to be written here, which are adapted if not designed, to excite filibustering operations. Some of these represent the existing government here as odious, corrupt and oppressive, entitled to no respect *as a government*: that the people are heavily taxed to fill the pockets of a few "lay missionaries" who have grown rich by their extortions, and that the people would be glad of any change which would bring them new masters. One of these anonymous writers states that Dr. Judd has been "*supplicating for forced loans*" at home, and begging for loans at all the courts of Europe, leaving the impression that the Hawaiian government is deeply in debt and the people heavily taxed.

There is scarcely a fragment of truth in these statements. . . .

I mention these facts that the government of the U. States may not be under any misapprehension from the published and uncontradicted statements of anonymous writers who are either grossly ignorant of what they write about, or have sinister designs. If they desire to effect annexation to the U. S. they could not pursue a worse policy, for the weight of their abuse falls chiefly on the very men who alone can bring it about peacefully. To encourage a filibuster movement from the American coast would be to throw the King and his government on the British, French and perhaps Russian also for protection & a guarantee of his sovereignty.

¹ Luther Severance, United States Commissioner to Hawaii.

² Edward Everett, Secretary of State of the United States.

These powers I apprehend would eagerly embrace the opportunity. I deem it highly important that we should so manage as to preserve the good will and confidence of the King & chiefs which we now have; and if any invading expeditions do come here from the coast, that American ships of war, and not British or French forces should arrest them. . . .

So great is the number of American seamen here in the Fall and Spring months, and so prone are they to have difficulties with their officers and with the police, that it requires much patience, discretion and good temper to manage all these disputes so as to do justice to all and preserve harmony with the government. These seamen heretofore have been in the habit of appealing to the consul on very trivial causes of complaint against the police or the government officers, and some consuls, &c have been quite ready to get up a diplomatic controversy, when a personal interview of five minutes, in proper temper, would have settled every thing amicably.

The American ship Eliza Mallory arrived to day from California with a case of small pox on board. She did not come into the harbor, and has been directed to keep out at sea until further orders. The small pox would make sad ravages with the natives. . . .

And I take occasion to add that the government appropriations of the last year have been increased considerably in an effort to pay off the personal debts of the King. The regular sum allowed him is \$12,000, but the Legislature gave him nearly \$20,000 the past year to pay his debts. This was in consideration of his yielding to the government his title to the greater part of the public lands, and his consenting to sign the new Constitution which takes from him important royal prerogatives and confers them on the legislative and other Departments of the government. The House of Representatives being elected by universal suffrage, controls all appropriations, as much as in our Congress, or the British Parliament. Hence revolutionary violence is never thought of here except by foreign adventurers or freebooters.

2. *Severance to Marcy*³ (No. 79), May 31, 1853.

(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

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It may not be out of place to mention here that there are three newspapers published in the Sandwich Islands, all at Honolulu, viz. the *Polyesian*, the government organ edited by Mr. Hall; the *Argus* edited by Mr. Fornander, a Swede married to a native woman; and the *Elele*, supervised by Mr. Armstrong, the Minister of Public Instruction, and printed in the native language. The *Argus* is the successor of several

³ William L. Marcy, Secretary of State of the United States in the administration of President Pierce.

other papers which have existed for a time and successively failed for want of support. These papers have generally professed to be friendly to the King, but have been sustained chiefly by the efforts of a few persons who are implacable in their opposition to his Ministers, and persevering in their efforts to induce him to change them. These few persons include the British, French, and Bremen consuls, the latter an American¹ long resident, who has a chronic hatred of American missionaries and of the government generally and of Dr. Judd especially and intensely, in which the British Consul General concurs. The Argus embodies and rallies the opposition to the government, but spares Mr. Wyllie who has been making persev[er]ling efforts to remove the restrictions on the sale of strong drinks and greatly reduce the high duties. The Argus represents the *free liquor* interest, opposes Missionary influences, and opposes annexation to the United States, as earnestly as it dare to do, being anxious on one side to favor the wishes of its British and French supporters, and to prejudice the King, and especially Prince Liholiho, against the ministers: and on the other hand not to offend its American and missionary anti liquor law patrons without whose support the paper could not exist. I forbear to go more into details, but think it my duty to say thus much confidentially, that you may understand something of the elements of Hawaiian politics; always bearing in mind that Mr. Wyllie, the Hawaiian Minister, with whom I communicate, does not harmonize with Dr. Judd or Mr. Armstrong: that Mr. Wyllie is a Scotchman with strong British predelections: that Dr. Judd is from Oneida county N. Y. and Mr. Armstrong from Pennsylvania, both retaining strong American partialities and feared by those who oppose annexation while they are not favored by all who desire it.

Having had the good fortune to keep on good terms with all of them, including the British consul General, I have no personal grievances to complain of, and I trust no undue prejudices to influence me. My visits with Mr. Perrin the French commissioner, have since his return been frequent and friendly. . . .

3. *Severance to Marcy (No. 88), August 15, 1853.*

(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

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As I before wrote the U S. frigate St. Lawrence Capt Dulany arrived July 1, but, without coming to anchor, went directly down to Lahaina where the Portsmouth then was. I received no communication from Capt. Dulany, and do not know why he came here at the time. He probably left here through fear of the small pox which is still doing its destructive work. I however wrote to him on the 20th, and sent by Capt Dornin

¹ Stephen Reynolds.

of the Portsmouth to San Francisco, representing to him the need of having a ship of war here in October when the whale ships begin to come in. This may be the more necessary as a considerable number of the foreign residents have become much excited in an effort to remove two of the King's Ministers, Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong. As they are not likely to succeed, they "speak daggers" and threaten to invite Fillibusters from California. Possibly they may work themselves up to the pitch of instigating the sailors to riot instead of aiding to suppress them. The active leaders in this movement at this time are two or three physicians and their personal friends who have personal grudges to be revenged, backed up by several persons who have been disappointed applicants for offices or favors—none of them influenced much by any public considerations, but finding it easy to rally the old anti missionary opposition, and equally easy to obtain the signatures of the brandy drinkers to a petition for the removal of the two members of the Kings Cabinet whose influence is most potent in sustaining the present law which imposes severe restrictions on the sale and heavy taxes on the consumption of ardent spirits. This is the ruling motive with two thirds the foreign resident signers of the petition. The names of many natives were obtained by telling them that Dr. Judd had been bribed to let a man come ashore with the small pox, and that Mr. Armstrong had been busy vaccinating with spurious matter whereby hundreds had lost their lives. Then there are said to be long rows of native names all in one hand writing. The native names are mostly spurious or obtained by fraud.

I do not think that either the interests of this Kingdom or of the United States require the removal of the two American members of the Kings cabinet, and the two having the most influence in the government—the very same two which English influence has been trying for years to displace; but the Americans who are now moving against them are strongly influenced by passion, and not by any calculations of state policy. The American portion of the malcontents however have annexation in view, and will never be quiet till that is accomplished. This I think the King apprehends, and is in a good deal of trouble about it. *He* might now be induced to sell out on easy terms for the sake of peace, but Alexander his appointed successor is ambitious and has considerable shrewdness. It is very important that the Americans should not so manage as to make themselves odious to the King and chiefs and drive them to seek the aid of England and France. A Fillibustering movement might do this if it appeared to receive any countenance from the American government. Hence there ought to be an American ship of war here most of the time. At present there is none here of any kind. I am told a petition to the King for annexation is on foot. If so we shall see how many English, Scotch, French and Germans will sign it.

4. *Severance to Marcy (No. 89), August 25, 1853.*

(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

I have the honor to enclose copy of a letter I wrote yesterday to the Collector of the customs at San Francisco, and I send also the Polynesian of the 20th containing the petition for the removal of ministers [Judd and Armstrong] and the reply of the King and Privy Council. A memorial has been presented to the King suggesting many reasons for immediate annexation. It is signed by the most respectable merchants and planters, who are not on the other petition. Of the latter here there are some who do not want peaceful annexation so much as to get the government into their own hands, and there are some, chiefly English who wish to prevent annexation altogether; but peaceful annexation would soon quiet all the agitators together, and put an end to all schemes of spoliation. . . . In the present emergency a good deal devolves upon Alexander Liholiho who will attain his majority (20 years) in a few months, . . . Alexander speaks English perfectly. I had a long conversation with him on Saturday, more than an hour, at the house of Mr. Bishop the late collector General, who married the daughter of Pahi the Kings Chamberlain. It was upon the present state and future prospects of his Kingdom. Mr. Bishop, who desires annexation, was present and joined in the conversation. I let him go ahead on that topic throwing in a word occasionally when appealed to. The Prince spoke of an extract of a letter which had been received at the palace purporting to reveal a scheme coming from New York to loan the Hawaiian government a sum of money to be expended in public improvements &c for which some sort of mortgage was to be taken on the islands. He said Gen Miller⁵ had got wind of it and was endeavoring to trace it to Dr. Judd. The plan was thought to smell a little of Lobos Island Guano. I told the prince the Doctor would explain his own agency in the matter if he had any. 'It was intimated in the manuscript that the New York men had seen the President and had his approbation. I told the prince that I did not pretend to any special authority to expound the views of the present president of the U S. I had no instructions from him on the subject, but I thought I could say with the utmost confidence that the President would preserve the most perfect good faith with the King and his government, and whenever it should be found mutually beneficial to unite the two sovereignties under one government, the gov't of the United States would pay liberally for the public lands, public property and sovereignty and would take care that whatever they paid should not go to New York stock jobbers or California Fillibusters, but would as far as possible protect the islands from both, and take care that the money should go into the hands which had a rightful claim to it. I told him I did not think the American people were so eager for annexation as had been represented: I thought many of them would be opposed to it, but I

⁵ British Consul General.

believed a large majority would be in favor of it whenever it could be brought about by peaceable means and in an honorable manner. This seemed to please the Prince. He asked me if I thought the removal of the Kings Ministers would restore quiet or have a good effect. I told him no. It would be more likely to involve the King in deeper trouble. It would only satisfy the present agitators for a moment, but they were not governed by any desire to promote the welfare of the Kingdom: they were intent on their own purposes, and would renew agitation to accomplish them. Many of them wanted to repeal all restrictions on the distilling and sale of ardent spirits and all laws against licentiousness. If they succeeded in this the ruin of the natives would be inevitable. Rum would sweep them off faster than the small pox, and their place would be supplied by Chinese coolies.

Again should the King discard his faithful advisers of twenty years standing to appease a popular clamor and on unproved charges which he knew and declared to be utterly absurd and unfounded, he would lose the confidence of his best friends here and alienate the thousands and hundreds of thousands of very considerate and influential people of the U. S. who for thirty years have been contributing their money to christianize and civilize the Hawaiian people, who have been constantly watching their progress and endeavoring by a system of public instruction to raise them fully up to the standard of American civilization. If these benevolent men should see all their work overturned thus by bad men they would cease any longer to exert their powerful influence with the U. S. Govt to sustain the King's government. They would say "He has abandoned his old friends to throw himself into the arms of Fillibusters or turbulent adventurers. Let him look to them for support. The sooner his government is overthrown the better." This they would be apt to say, and the King would lose the support of a powerful body of disinterested friends to gain the temporary favor of a few clamorous but false ones.

I enlarged a good deal on this topic, and the Prince expressed his entire and earnest concurrence in what I said. I told him too that in this matter the Protestant people of England had a common sympathy which had its influence on the British government also. There has long been an understanding between the British and American boards of Missions that the former shall operate on the islands south of the line in the Pacific, and the Americans north of the line. So they never come in conflict, but have a common sympathy. He knew all this and he expressed his general approval of my views which he said he would repeat to the King, and that the King would like to talk with me as he has told others. I shall try to see him in a day or two . . .

The commercial and agricultural interests of the islands must continually look upon annexation as their great and only sure relief, and

all permanent residents will desire a government able to protect them. The tendency is all one way. Even Englishmen who have purchased lands, acknowledge this, but those engaged in trade or the sale of English goods would like to continue to sell them at 5 per cent duty. Gen Miller says the islands are of great importance in a commercial and naval point of view: but I may add that as England and France are bound by the agreement of Nov. 28 1843 not to take possession of them as a protectorate or otherwise, they will keep them independent as long as they can.

5. *Severance to Hammond*,⁶ August 24, 1853.

(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

On the 16th inst I wrote a letter to Mr. Henley the postmaster at San Francisco, giving him some account of movements here. I presume he has shewn the letter to you, as the business it refers to falls rather within the line of your duties than his. I wrote him because I was personally acquainted with him. Besides it was a private and not an official letter. At the time I wrote I hardly credited the rumor that the agitators here had any thing more in view than to alarm the King and intimidate him into compliance with their petition vs. Judd and Armstrong; and this I believe *was* all the object of most of them, particularly the English portion; but having set the ball in motion the latter could not so easily control it. Capt D P. Penhallow left here on the 16th in the *Zoe* which carried my letter to Mr Henley. He carried the proceedings of several public meetings held at the court house. At that time these proceedings had not been published here. Petitions had been sent to the King, but it was not known whether he would comply or not. I now send you the Polynesian of the 20th inst which will shew you the character of the petitions, how they were got up and how they were disposed of. I think the Report of the committee of the Privy Council a very just and proper one.⁷ It was written by Judge Andrews, but the other members of the committee are not men of straw. John Ii, Gov. Kekuanaoa and Piikoi are keen shrewd men of good character. The great array of natives names is a mere sham intended to deceive the King into hasty action; but having failed in this, what use is to be made of it in California we are left to conjecture. If the inference is drawn from it that the natives are disaffected towards the gov't, or have any desire to get rid of the two ministers, such inference will be entirely erroneous.

⁶ Major R. P. Hammond, Collector of Customs at San Francisco.

⁷ When the petitions were presented asking for the removal of Judd and Armstrong from the Ministry, the King appointed a committee to examine the petitions and report upon them. The committee was composed of Kekuanaoa, John Ii, Lorrin Andrews, Piikoi, and Prince Lot Kamehameha. Their report is printed in the *Polynesian* of August 20, 1853. It concludes as follows: "Your Majesty's Committee are therefore unable to discover, in the petitions referred to them, any good and sufficient reason why Your Majesty should grant the prayer of the petitions."

Two thirds of the white men who have signed the petition for removal, know no more of the facts they allege, or how the ministers have performed their duties, than they do about the parlor furniture of the Seventh Heaven of Mahomet. They are governed more by a desire to get cheaper liquor than any elevated political considerations. Still they can be used for purposes of agitation, now and hereafter, and *will be* beyond a doubt. The American portion want annexation, while the English influence, which is busy in the matter, wants to get the ministers out to *prevent* annexation, and the English know best of the two what they are about. Of the very few American residents who know what was done here in 1851, not one is among the present agitators. The latter are not a class of men with whom state secrets can be trusted; they are therefore acting very much in the dark.

Since the *Zoe* sailed several of them who are Americans, have admitted that since they have embarked in the warfare they are determined to carry it through and take possession of the gov't themselves, which they think they can do with the aid of Fillibusters from California. These ambitious gentlemen can then sell their conquest to the U S. on their own terms, and pocket something by the operation. They appear to forget that this is a constitutional government with a Representative body elected by universal suffrage, and that a military capture of Honolulu would not give them the sovereignty of the islands. They could establish no government *de facto* which would be recognized by any foreign power, nor extend their authority beyond Honolulu, which would be blockaded by French and English ships of war. If they permitted the popular elections to go on (and they could only suppress them in Honolulu) not a man would be elected in favor of the insurgents. They would not have the aid of the Protestant Missionaries in *such* a movement, and the Catholic priests are dead against all annexation except with France. They could have no help from the gov't of the U S. whose laws they were violating. Hence a disastrous failure would be inevitable. The substantial American merchants and planters here desire annexation, but would look with alarm at any Fillibuster movements. A memorial setting forth the present state and future prospects of the islands has been signed by the most respectable foreign residents, Americans, urging an immediate transfer to the U S.; and it *may* prevail, though I think it will meet with determined opposition from Alexander, the appointed heir to the throne, whose ambition is stimulated as much as possible by Gen. Miller, the British consul General and his English friends. I have talked freely with the prince and find he does not like to give up his prospects of a throne. He wants to try it, but he will soon get sick of it, and most likely fall into the same habits as the present King, whom I think he will succeed in a few months, unless the old chiefs who have a potent voice in the matter, shall decide otherwise. Meantime we do not want either the King, the chiefs or the prince driven to seek support from the English

or French, which a Fillibuster movement might do. Already they have been assured that an English ship of war will soon be here. There may be several here before November, and one or more of them will be detained. Mr Perrin expects the French Admiral, and he too will remain or leave a force here. We shall feel very awkward to have no American ship of war here, and I wish you to urge this matter upon Com. Dulany if he shall be in San Francisco when this reaches there. I have already requested him to send back Capt Dornin with the Portsmouth. I think Capt D. is a discreet man and wish you to confer with him also if he is in San Francisco: also with Senators Gwin and Weller; and if necessary with the District Attorney and Marshal, that they may be prepared to arrest any armed expeditions coming here in violation of law. I have assured the King and the Prince that the gov't of the U S will treat them in perfect good faith, giving no countenance, direct or indirect, to Fillibusters or private expeditions, though it cannot prevent emigrants from coming here, nor control their action when here: that doubtless they will continue to come, and continue to make trouble, as they are doing now, and that whenever the Hawaiians are satisfied that a transfer of sovereignty to the U S would be beneficial I thought the American people would deal with them very liberally, protect their rights of property &c &c. I said to them much more which it would not be proper to repeat in this letter to you. I write to you, as you readily perceive, because to write to the State Department would not reach you in time to prevent mischief. This letter you will regard as official and confidential. Of course I shall send a copy of it to the State Department at Washington.

6. *Severance to Marcy (No. 92), September 5, 1853.*

(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

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Notwithstanding the report of the committee of the Privy Council exonerating the ministers Judd and Armstrong, the clamor and intrigue against them has so far prevailed with the King and Alexander that by intimating to all the ministers that they should resign & they having done so, all except Dr. Judd have been reappointed. John Young, however, while he retains the office of Minister of the Interior, is no longer the Premier, which has been conferred upon Lot Kamehameha, the elder brother of the heir apparent. This is an important office in a certain contingency, for the Premier has a veto on all important acts of the King. The change is much for the worse, for there is no knowing whose hands Lot may fall into. . . .

The English interest which has been laboring to get out the two American ministers would not have succeeded at all I think had it not been for the bitter personal hostility of certain Americans to Dr. Judd. As it is, Mr. Armstrong remains and the English candidates have been

foiled by the appointment of Hon. Elisha H. Allen, late American consul, who takes the place of Dr Judd as minister of Finance. The King was induced to appoint him mainly through the strong personal influence of Judge Lee. Mr Angel and myself have urged Mr Allen to accept for important public reasons, and he has done so, after having for sometime [been] quite busy in promoting annexation, in which he has, for years taken a deep interest. He is not the choice of Alexander whose ambition has been artfully excited by his English friends and bottle companions, and who is hostile to annexation. They talk much of a "liberal policy" making Honolulu a free port &c. If they succeed they will kill off the natives with cheap liquor and run ashore for revenue: have to resort to a land tax and precipitate themselves upon the last and ultimate resort—annexation. I do not think it will be accomplished at present: they will go on a little longer; but so long as we can keep American Ministers in the Cabinet we shall stand well enough. Dr Judd's enemies have slandered him until the public have been made to believe he is rich, corrupt &c. But he is neither. He is actually poor with a large family. He has been faithful to the King, and has made some enemies by inflexible discharge of duty; more perhaps by doing a right thing in an offensive manner. He lacks the habitual courtesy and amenity of manners which distinguishes his successor. The King has promised to provide for him in some way.

7. *Elisha H. Allen to Marcy (Private), September 10, 1853.*

(Despatches, Hawaii, Vol. IV.)

Although I am relieved from service in your department, still I deem it a duty to an old friend, for whom I have great regard, as well as from my present position to communicate to you a brief sketch of the state of affairs here. I shall be brief as I know that Mr Severance, & Mr Angel have written.

At times, since I have been here, there has been agitation among the foreign residents, on political questions. Of late it has arisen against Dr Judd, the Minister of Finance and so severe & bitter the hostility that the Governor decided that it was necessary for him to retire, where upon he resigned. The office was tendered to me, and I had decided at once to decline, but Mr Severance, the U. S. Commissioner, and Mr Angel, U. S. Consul, and some American Citizens, interfered & urged me on the score of public duty, and most reluct[ant]ly I have assumed the duties. The British, & French Comrs. have had great fears at the recent demonstrations. They have seen on the part of the people, and on the part of the King and Chiefs, a willingness for Annexation, and hence their protest, and they undoubtedly were anxious for an Englishman in the situation, which I occupy. The opposition to annexation arises principally from the heir Apparent, aided by this English & French influence. Gen.

Miller, British Consular General, who was a very distinguished General, under Bolivar, and for years often in the service in South America, regards this group of Islands, as the Key of the Pacific, & as a naval, as well as Commercial depot, unequaled. Their importance have not been regarded. In 1851 I went home at great sacrifice, to make known to the Government, the preeminent advantages of the position, having then the offer of this Govt. for a treaty, but the Councils, which then prevailed over ruled me. Mr Webster was totally hostile, and Mr Fillmore was disinclined to undertake the negotiation. The business of the Islands is American—planting, & Commerce, to a very large extent—and the only reason why the British are so hostile to annexation is the superior position. They are jealous of the great Republic. Out of the United States there is no place so strongly American, and whenever annexation does come, you will find it one of the most prosperous of American territories. When the day arrives for steam Communication with China, this will be the stopping place. Its productions are precisely what the Coast of Cala. and Oregon require,—but their crowning glory is their advantages as a military, and naval station in time of war, & a port of repairs & supplies in time of peace. Please present my kind wishes to Mrs Marcy and believe me most Truly, Yr Friend.

E. H. Allen.

P. S. I ought to have stated to you, that my position in relation to annexation was fully and clearly known to this Government before I was appointed to office under it. I am particular on points of honor, and on this subject I have been especially *particular* & most *particularly* frank.

Truly, A.

II. DESPATCHES OF THE BRITISH CONSUL GENERAL, WILLIAM MILLER.

1. *Miller to Clarendon*¹ (No. 17), August 13, 1853.

(F. O. 58/76)

I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that Petitions, signed by 260 Foreign Residents, including 65 naturalized Subjects, and about 12,000 Natives, were, on the 2nd Instant, presented to King Kamehameha, by a Deputation consisting of 2 Americans, 1 Englishman, 1 Frenchman, 1 German, and 2 Sandwich Islanders, praying that His Majesty would dismiss Dr. Judd, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Armstrong, Minister of Public Instruction, in consequence, as set forth in the Petition, of those Gentlemen having, by their arbitrary, overbearing, and selfish proceedings, impeded the progress of the Commerce, and the general prosperity of these Islands, and thereby lost the confidence and support of every unbiassed member of this Community.

¹ Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

A Cabinet Council was held at the Palace, on the following morning, to take into consideration the Petitions, but Mr. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, and Mr. Young, Minister of the Interior, having declined expressing any opinion thereon, on the plea that they were alike responsible for the acts of their Colleagues, the Sitting broke up. A *Privy Council* was called together on the afternoon of the same day, but nothing was then done beyond reading the Petitions. Another Privy Council, however, was held on the 8th, when a special Committee, composed of Prince Lot; Paki; John Ii; Kekuaonoa, the Governor; and the Reverend Lorin Andrews, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court, to consider and report upon the Petitions. The result is not yet known.

In the meantime the Petitioners manifest great impatience at the delay, and hold forth that unless the King grants their Prayer, they purpose to overthrow his Government and set up in its stead an Independent Republic. They hold frequent Public Meetings, and have established a Permanent Committee of Thirteen.

Mr. Blair, a Practising Lawyer; Doctors Lathrop and Newcomb, Practising Physicians; and Mr. Smith, a Dentist—all Americans—and as far as has come to my knowledge respectable Persons—are the Leaders of the Petitioners who principally consist of Mechanics, Keepers of Grog Shops, and other Retailers, and amongst whom are many Germans, English and French Residents. They have, besides, several Supporters who from prudential motives did not sign the Petition.

On the other hand, it appears that Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong are using their endeavours to prepare the King for the annexation of these Islands to the United States, and I have reason to believe that this project is by no means discountenanced by the Commissioner and by the Consul of the United States, whilst it is openly advocated by American Missionaries and other Landed Proprietors, especially those who have imprudently embarked their all in Sugar and Coffee Plantations, and who feel persuaded that Bankruptcy which now threatens them can alone be averted by the free introduction of the produce of their Estates into the American Ports of California.

It appears that Mr. Severance has no authority from his Government to negotiate any thing in the shape of annexation, and that his Successor is not likely to arrive here for at least a month or two.

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2. *Miller to Addington*,² August 30, 1853.

(F. O. 58/76)

Although the Prayer of the Petitioners, referred to in my Despatch, No. 17, of the 3rd Instant, was refused by the King, he has since twice

² Henry Unwin Addington, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

requested Dr. Judd to resign. The Minister of Finance, however, still holds his office, and, supported by the Missionaries and other American Landed Proprietors, is doing all he can to induce the King to consent to open a Negotiation, with the United States' Government, with a view to Annexation.

I have had two private Interviews at the Palace with the King—one was casual and the other upon my being sent for,—and frequent Conversations with Prince Alexander. Both of them, as well as Mr. Wyllie, are, I have reason to believe, still firm in their Negative.

M. Perrin and I are to have an Audience with the King and Privy Council on Thursday next. We purpose merely stating our knowledge of a Memorial, signed by 19 American Citizens, recommending the King to consent to Annexation, and then to remind the Sandwich Islands' Government of the spirit and intention of existing Treaties with Great Britain and France. In a few days I shall report accordingly.

Yesterday the recently arrived United States Consul, Mr. Angel, relieved Mr. Allen who proposes embarking for Washington in a few days.

The Small Pox continues to rage on this Island. The horrible sufferings of the poor Natives are heart-rending. I never saw anything half so distressing before. I fear that half of them at least will disappear by this awful contagion.

3. *Miller to Clarendon (No. 18), September 3, 1853.*

(F. O. 58/76)

Having been furnished with a Copy of a Letter, signed by 19 American Citizens, recommending King Kamehameha to consent to an immediate Negotiation with the Government at Washington with a view to the annexation of these Islands to the United States; aware that the receipt of that Letter, of which I herewith enclose a Copy, had been acknowledged by order of the King on the 24th Ultimo, with an intimation that it should be taken into consideration; and knowing that this Scheme was strongly backed, not only by Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong but by other American Functionaries; I proposed to M. Perrin, Consul of France, to make a joint Remonstrance against any such project in contravention of existing Treaties.

I and M. Perrin, accordingly, in a Joint Note to the Minister of Foreign Relations, on the 29th Ultimo, solicited an Audience with the King and his Privy Council.

This was granted to us on the 1st Instant, when I read to the King, in the presence of his Ministers and Privy Council, the Address³ as given

³ The address of Messrs. Miller and Perrin is printed in the *Polynesian* of Sept. 3, 1853. A reply by U. S. Commissioner Luther Severance is printed in the *Polynesian* of Sept. 10, 1853.

in the accompanying Memorandum, a Translation of which in the Hawaiian Language, previously prepared for the occasion, was, at my suggestion, read by Prince Alexander.

On the same day we received a Note from Mr. Wyllie assuring us that the King would duly consider our Joint Memorandum, which I have reason to believe has had considerable effect in strengthening the King, Prince Alexander, and some the Native Chiefs, in their determination not to consent to any thing in the shape of annexation to the United States.

4. *Miller to Clarendon (No. 19), September 7, 1853.*

(F. O. 58/76)

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that Dr. Judd was at length prevailed upon to resign, on the 3rd Instant, his Office as Minister of Finance, and that he has been succeeded by Mr. Elisha H. Allen the late American Consul for this place.

Prince Lot Kamehameha has also been appointed to the Office of *Kuhina Nui*, held previously by Mr. Young. Mr. Young, however, still retains the Home Department, as does Mr. Armstrong that of Public Instruction.

This change in the Hawaiian Cabinet was effected on the 5th Instant. It seems to have given much satisfaction to the Community in general, and the cry for Annexation has subsided for the present.

5. *Miller to Addington, September 9, 1853.*

(F. O. 58/76)

In case my Despatches, Nos. 17, 18 and 19, should not be sufficiently explicit respecting some late occurrences, I send you, herewith, a Memorandum containing additional Particulars.

My Informants in the matter were Prince Alexander, Mr. Wyllie, and Mr. Hopkins, who all along communicated to me, confidentially of course, what was passing.

In the few Conversations I have had with the King my advice has been confined to the object of impressing upon him the evil consequences which would be entailed upon all his Race by any attempt or consent, on his part, to cede the Islands to any Foreign Power; and, on such occasions, I have, amongst other things, adverted to the Joint Declaration of Great Britain and France of November 1843 and existing Treaties. I have in a manner assumed that annexation would be a breach of existing Treaties, and scarcely any one seems now to doubt it here, although I confess that I myself entertain some doubt about it.

It seems that Dr. Judd and his Missionary Supporters had all but obtained the sanction of the King to open a Negotiation at Washington, and that the good sense and firmness of Alexander thwarted the project. I think it right and only fair to state that this is the third attempt of the Americans to get their flag placed over these Islands which has been defeated.

* * * * *

6. *Memorandum of recent Occurrences at Honolulu.*

(Enclosure in preceding letter to Addington)

When the American Clipper Ship "Charles Mallory", on her way from San Francisco to China, arrived at Honolulu in February last, (1853) with the Small Pox on board, the Practising Resident Surgeons held Consultations as to what had best be done. At one of these Consultations, Dr. Judd being present, they offered, through him, to the Hawaiian Government, to vaccinate the whole of the Natives on this Island at 10 cents a head. But this offer, not being supported by the Minister of Finance, fell to the ground.

Three months afterwards, in May, the Small Pox broke out amongst the Natives, but whether it come from the "Charles Mallory"—which Vessel after remaining 14 days under Quarantine was allowed to enter the Harbour—or whether it was brought by some other Vessel that touched here, is not known.

At a Public Meeting which took place at the Court House, on the 18th of July, for the purpose of devising the best means to clear the Town of the awful disease, much blame was attributed to Dr. Judd for his declining, as was alleged, to properly communicate to the Privy Council the offer of the Surgeons; and a feeling still more violent was manifested at an adjourned Meeting on the following evening, when other Charges of Malfeasance were made against Dr. Judd.

On the 20 and 25 of the same month, July, Indignation Meetings were held, the result of which were the Petitions, as reported in my Despatch, No. 17, of the 13th of August.

Another meeting of the same sort was held on the 15th. of August, when a variety of Charges were renewed against Dr. Judd:—and Mr. A. B. Bates, Acting Law Adviser to the Crown and Member of the Privy Council, was highly censured for a Letter of his, published in the New York Tribune of the 4th of June, of a nature, it was asserted, treasonable to the King and to the Hawaiian Nation. A printed Copy of this Letter I send herewith.

A Privy Council was held on the 17th of August, when the Report of the Committee, named to give their opinion upon the Petitions, recom-

mending that the Prayer of the Petitioners should not be granted, was adopted. But before the Meeting broke up the King intimated that he had something more to say to his Chiefs, and requested Dr. Judd, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Bates, and the Reverend Lorin Andrews, Secretary, to retire from the Council Chamber which they did reluctantly. Mr. Wyllie also withdrew, leaving by themselves the King, Prince Alexander, seven Native Chiefs, and Mr. Hopkins to act as Secretary and Short hand writer, he being also an Honnary Member of the Council.

The King then desired each Chief to give his real opinion as to whether it would be proper to dismiss Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong. Prince Alexander was of opinion that it was right and necessary that they should resign. The King expressed his concurrence in all Alexander had stated, and retired leaving the others to come to a decision.

The Votes were equal for and against Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong when Mr. Hopkins claimed his right to vote, and he voted against them.

* * * * *

On the morning of the 24th of August a Letter—a sort of Memorial—signed by 19 Citizens of the United States, was presented to the King, setting forth the advantages of Annexation, and suggesting that His Majesty would consent to an immediate Negotiation with the Government at Washington with that view.

In consequence of some alarm caused by a Company of Volunteers, composed of Foreign Residents, parading the Streets, on the afternoon of the 24th of August, the King sent Prince Alexander to desire again Dr. Judd to resign and at once to deliver up his Commission. The Doctor came to the Palace as was desired, but did not bring his Commission. He promised however to do so the next morning; but the alarm having blown away the promise was not complied with.

* * * * *

Two days after that, on the 3rd [of September], Dr. Judd was compelled to send in his resignation, Judge Lee, who had a week previously returned from O'Whyhee in a very bad state of health, having assured him that it was quite impossible that he could remain any longer a Member of the Government. The Hawaiian Cabinet was therefore remodelled on the 5th as stated in my Despatch, No. 19, of this Day.

Honolulu Sept. 7th 1853.

Wm. Miller.

APPENDIX C

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN HAWAII DURING THE REIGNS OF
KAMEHAMEHA IV AND KAMEHAMEHA V.

[Introductory Note.--American influence in Hawaii was at a low ebb during the reigns of Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, in marked contrast to conditions earlier and later. There were various reasons for the preponderance of British influence during this period, some of which are suggested in the following documents, which are selected (except the last one) from the official despatches to and from the British Commissioner and Consul General to Hawaii, copied from the files in the Public Record Office in London. In order to show the feeling of a large and influential section of American public opinion about the same time, there is printed at the end part of a letter written by the secretary of the Hawaiian Club of Boston in 1866.]

1. *Foreign Office to Mr. Synge*¹ (No. 5), May 12, 1862.

(F. O. 58/97)

The Queen being desirous, on the occasion of becoming Sponsor to the Infant Prince, Heir to the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands, to bestow upon him some permanent token of Her good wishes, Her Majesty has commanded me to transmit to you the accompanying Silver Cup; and I am to instruct you to present it, in Her Majesty's Name, to the King for the young Prince, on the day when his Baptism shall take place, accompanied by suitable expressions on Her Majesty's Part.

[In the Margin]

A Silver Vase from Garrard

cost £217-8-

Cup	£220-
Oak Case	6-
Deal and tin do	-17
Shipping charges	1-19
Insurance	2-9-6

£231-5-6

Cr. by Drawback

1/6 per oz on 185 oz. 13-17-6

 Nett£217-8

¹ William Webb Follett Synge, who had just been appointed British Commissioner and Consul General to the Sandwich Islands.

2. *Mr. Syngé to Earl Russell*² (No. 3), September 10, 1862.

(F. O. 58/97)

On the 23d ulto, the morning after our arrival here, I received the letter, of which I enclose a copy, from Mr. Wyllie.

The urgency of the case seemed so great, that instead of losing time by sitting down to write a reply, I desired the Aide de Camp who brought the letter on board to inform The King and Mr. Wyllie that my wife and myself would be at the Palace almost as soon as he would get there—And, accordingly, in a very short time we proceeded thither, accompanied by Captain Hall.

We were at once introduced to the King and Queen, who received us in an antechamber communicating with the apartment in which the young Prince was lying. The King asked me whom the Queen had appointed to be her Co-sponsors for the child. I told him that my Sovereign had not, I believed, understood that it was His Majesty's wish that the Godfathers should be chosen by Her. He then said, "Do you think the Prince of Wales would consent to be Godfather, and will you act as his proxy?" At such a moment I thought I could not answer otherwise than I did, namely that I had little doubt that His Royal Highness would be glad to be associated with His Mother in the Sponsorship of a Prince in whom Her Majesty took so lively an interest, and that I would venture to act as His proxy, subject to His future approval. The King then asked His brother Prince Kamehameha to be the other Godfather; and the Baptismal Service was at once proceeded with in the antechamber—The King and Queen, the officiating Clergyman, the sponsors and the proxies only entering the Prince's apartment for a few seconds while the water was poured, and the sign of the Cross made, on his forehead, as he lay in bed. It was a most affecting Ceremony. The King assured me that in all his deep affliction it was the greatest comfort and consolation to him that the darling wish of his heart and of his wife's had been gratified by Queen Victoria consenting to be Godmother to their child, and He begged me repeatedly to convey to Her Majesty through your Lordship the expression of His and of his Queen's heartfelt gratitude. . . .

The Little Prince Lingered on for a few days in an almost hopeless state and died in the morning of the 27th ultimo. . . .

The young Prince's death has thrown a great gloom over these Islands. He was a very amiable, clever and bold-spirited boy, a little over four years old, the idol of his Parents and the favourite of the whole Nation, who watched over him with a pride and interest peculiarly touching.

The King and Queen have no other children, and the loss of Prince Albert of Hawaii may therefore eventually lead to complications and questions of disputed succession, unless his Parents are blessed with other

² Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

children, as it is the fervent wish of all their subjects as well as of the Foreign Residents here that they may be.

It has given rise to some remark that the American Commissioner Mr. Dryer, a person of singularly rough and intemperate habits, is the only representative of a Foreign Power that has not called at the Palace, or addressed a letter of condolence to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is only just to say that his conduct in this respect is much blamed by his countrymen living here.

3. *Synge to Russell (No. 4), September 10, 1862.*

(F. O. 58/97)

I was unable to comply with your Lordship's instruction to present to the King of Hawaii, on the day of the Prince's Baptism, the Silver Christening Cup, the Gift of Her Majesty to Her Godson. In the first place, I was summoned so urgently and so suddenly to the Palace, that there was no time to get the box up from the hold and unpacked, and in the second place I thought the occasion too sad and too solemn for such a presentation.

I informed the King, however, that I was the bearer of such a present, and on the 28th Mr. Wyllie came to request, in His Majesty's name, that I would give the Cup to two of the officers of the King's Guard who should be sent to convey it to the Palace, in order that it might be placed at the head of the deceased Prince as he lay in State.

I of course complied with request; and at eight o'clock in the morning of that day, when I attended with my wife and Captain Hall the official lying in State, the Cup was borne into the room by six Chiefs of the highest rank, and placed on a table at the head of the young Prince. Out of respect to the Queen [Victoria], whose gift it was, arms were presented to it by all the officers by whom the room was lined. . . .

4. *Synge to Russell (No. 6), September 10, 1862.*

(F. O. 58/97)

On the 8th instant I received the letter from Mr. Wyllie, a copy of which I enclose, appointing an audience for me on that day to present to the King your Lordship's letter notifying my appointment. . . .

We were received by a guard of honour and in great state. The King desired that my wife, as the Queen's Proxy, might take precedence of me and be presented first. This was done; and His Majesty then presented her to Queen Emma, and placed her on a Chair by the Queen's side. . . .

On this occasion, as well as at the Baptism and Funeral of the Crown Prince, the greatest respect was shown to my wife as Her Majesty's

Proxy, and to me as Proxy (ad referendum) for the Prince of Wales. In fact it would be difficult to over rate the feeling of satisfaction which the King and all His people have derived from the honour conferred upon them by the Queen in consenting to be Godmother to the Prince who seemed destined to reign over this Nation. . . .

In the letter from Mr. Wyllie thanking me for attending the Prince's funeral, and appointing an audience for me with the King, Your Lordship will perceive that His Majesty wishes to present Queen Victoria with specimens of the beautiful native woods of which his child's coffin is composed. Mr. Wyllie showed me the King's Autograph letter to him expressing this intention. I enclose a copy of it, in order that your Lordship may see with what ease and fluency His Majesty writes English. In fact his manners and acquirements are those of a high bred English Gentleman. On all the occasions in which I have been brought into contact with him I have been greatly struck by the quiet dignity of his deportment.

The Queen is also a person of admirable manners; and the chastened composure of her demeanour since the death of her only child has increased, if anything could increase, the love and admiration universally felt for her in these Islands.

The tender but respectful sympathy of a whole Nation in their Sovereign's grief is a touching and gratifying sight. Such a solemn spectacle has been lately witnessed at home.³ A similar feeling is evinced here on a smaller scene, and among a remote but amiable and passionately loyal people, who fondly cling to their old traditional veneration for Great Britain, and who, in the midst of their sorrow, feel a pride and a joy, that constantly demonstrate themselves; in recollecting that their beloved young Prince was the Godchild of the Queen of England.

5. *Synge to Russell (No. 13), October 13, 1862.*

(F. O. 58/97)

* * * * *

The cuckoo cry that American interests in these Islands are sacrificed to a predominant English influence, is as unmeaning as it is unfounded. The King and his Government shew a wise and laudable impartiality between the subjects of all Foreign Nations residing here. If at any time the English element should prevail in the Administration, (at present there is but one Englishman, Mr. Wyllie, in the Cabinet) it will be simply because there happen to be among the natives of Great Britain living on these Islands more persons of good education and fair moral character, than are to be found among the other Foreign residents, except

³ On the occasion of the death of Albert, the Prince Consort, husband of Queen Victoria.

perhaps among the Germans, who, however, shew no inclination to take an active part in the political affairs of this Archipelago.

6. *Synge to Russel (No. 14), October 14, 1862.*

(F. O. 58/97)

In my despatch No. 3 of the 10th ultimo I informed your Lordship that the United States Commissioner was the only member of the Diplomatic or Consular Body who had not addressed to Mr. Wyllie a letter of condolence on the death of Prince Albert of Hawaii.

Your Lordship will perceive however by the accompanying extract from the Official Gazette that Mr. Dryer did at last address such a letter to the Hawaiian Government; but it was delayed until more than a fortnight after the Prince's death. His conduct in this matter gave rise to much comment here.

7. *Synge to Russell (No. 15), October 14, 1862.*

(F. O. 58/97)

I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that the Bishop of Honolulu, with his family and two chaplains, arrived here on the 11th instant, in a packet from California,—H.M.S. "Topaze", on board of which they expected a passage, not being at Panama when they arrived there.

On the following day, Sunday, they performed divine Service in a temporary chapel, which had been provided for them by Mr. Wyllie.

They have been well and cordially received by the Native population, and by the English and German residents. The Americans, however, though it has been clearly explained to them that Her Majesty's Government have nothing to do with sending out the Mission, affect to see in their arrival another proof of the desire of Great Britain to establish a predominant interest in these Islands. Exasperated by the recent ill success of their arms at home, they seek their usual solace in abuse of England, and utter vague threats of inviting their Countrymen in California to come over here to defend American interests. All this is sufficiently absurd; but I think that the King and all well disposed persons will be pleased if, as rumoured, Her Majesty's surveying ship "Hecate" from Vancouver's Island should winter here. The tone of feeling is always much better when there is an English Man of War in the Harbour.

The King and Queen only returned yesterday morning from an excursion to the other side of the Island. I called at the Palace in the evening. His Majesty expressed himself greatly pleased at the arrival of the Bishop. He alluded to the jealous feeling among the American residents, and said that it was too absurd that England should be accused of forc-

ing her church upon the Hawaiian Nation, when I must know that for the last seventy years His ancestors and Himself had been striving to get it established here.

The Bishop had sent to the King and Queen for their perusal a letter which Queen Victoria had desired the Dean of Windsor to address to him before his departure from England. In this letter Her Majesty expressed the greatest kindness for the Royal Family of Hawaii, and stated that She, as well as the late Prince Consort, had always taken the warmest interest in the spiritual and social improvement of these Islands.

The King and Queen were much affected by our Queen's kindness, and said it should be their constant endeavour to merit Her goodwill and favour.

The Bishop and his clergy appear to me to be men of moderate and conciliatory views, and devoted to the good work which they have undertaken. They will no doubt meet with much opposition from the American missionaries, who are already preaching against them in the country parts of the Island. But I have no doubt that they will live down all ill will and misrepresentation. They have a great field before them in the educational development and moral improvement of these Islands; and they can hardly fail to do much good.

So far, the Roman Catholics have shown no ill feeling towards the Bishop.

I may add that I am on the best possible terms with my American colleague, and with the American Consul, as well as with the Citizens of the United States residing here.

8. Synge to Russel (No. 19), November 14, 1862.

(F. O. 58/97)

On the 21st ultimo Queen Emma was baptized by Bishop Staley in a room of the Palace fitted up as a Chapel for the occasion.

Her Majesty received the names of Emma, Alexandrina, Frances, Agnes, Louder, Hyde, Rooke, Young, Kaleleokalani (the Heaven-soaring).

Her Majesty did me the honour of selecting me to be her Godfather on the occasion.

The Ministers of the various denominations of American Missionaries had always refused to administer to the Queen in her childhood the rite of Baptism, unless her parents would give a solemn pledge that she should not be brought up in the English Church. This condition was steadily rejected, and the Queen, who is one fourth English by blood, had to await the arrival of Bishop Staley and his clergy, before she could publicly profess the faith in which she had been educated.

The King and Queen are, I believe, shortly to be confirmed by the Bishop.

9. *Synge to Russell (No. 21. Confidential), November 30, 1862.*

(F. O. 58/97)

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that at the beginning of last week the King called on me to say that His Majesty and the Queen regretted that they had hitherto been unable, on account of their recent heavy domestic affliction, to give an official entertainment in my honour, but that they intended to do so on the ensuing Wednesday.

His Majesty was also good enough to shew me a list of the persons whom he had invited to meet Mrs. Synge and myself at dinner. His list comprised the names of Mr. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Varigny, the French Acting Commissioner, and his wife, the Roman Catholick Bishop, Bishop Staley and his clergy, besides several officers of the Court and their families.

It was of course a matter of some delicacy to comment on the choice of guests whom His Majesty thought fit to ask to meet me; but the feeling of jealousy, not to say of ill will, entertained by the American residents here towards the English, and in a scarcely less degree towards the King's Government, is so great that, emboldened by the kindness and confidence with which the King has honoured me ever since my arrival, I ventured to suggest, though with some diffidence, that it might be prudent and politic to include in his invitation Mr. Dryer, the United States Commissioner, and his wife, and the Chancellor of the Kingdom Mr. Allen and his wife who are both Americans. I said that if M. de Varigny and the French Bishop were the only foreigners invited it might subject the King to accusations of being entirely under the influence of England and France, and even of being anxious to shew a slight to the Representatives of the United States. The King thanked me warmly for my advice, which he said he was always glad to follow in this and in other matters; and he at once adopted my suggestion.

It may seem strange to attach importance to so small a matter; but I felt persuaded and so did my French Colleague with whom I conversed on the subject, that the omission of any American guests from the dinner would infallibly have given rise to great ill feeling here, and to much misrepresentation in which the King and his Ministers, as well as M. de Varigny and myself, would have been involved.

Not content with frankly acting on my advice, the King shortly afterwards sent Mr. Wyllie to thank me for urging this matter upon him, and for the disinterested counsel which he was pleased to say he always received from me.

Though I hope Your Lordship will think that my course of proceedings was correct, the result shewed that the original reluctance of their

Majesties to extend their hospitality to Mr. Dryer was but natural. The United States Commissioner arrived at the Palace in a state of incipient intoxication, and before the conclusion of the entertainment grossly insulted Their Majesties and most of the guests, myself included. He, with an air of drunken bravado, placed his legs on the table at dessert, and proceeded to indulge in some of the dirty peculiarities of the lower classes of Americans which I may be excused from describing minutely. After dinner he went with his hat on into the drawing room where the Queen and the ladies were assembled, and addressed them in a most rude and incoherent manner. Finally he withdrew, cursing and swearing, and refusing to speak to the King who conducted Mrs. Dryer to her carriage, and who throughout the series of indignities heaped upon him in his own Palace preserved a dignity and forbearance beyond all praise.

I am very glad that Chancellor and Mrs. Allen were, at my instance, invited, as they are a thoroughly well bred American gentleman and gentlewoman, and will have been able to explain to their fellow countrymen here (as I know they have done) the gross indecorum of their Commissioner, and the forbearance extended to him by the King and by his guests.

Mr. Dryer's Countrymen have repeatedly addressed the President of the United States, praying him to remove a Representative whose drunken and disreputable habits bring disgrace on their country; but their remonstrances have hitherto been unavailing. Though he is almost utterly uneducated and can hardly write a letter without assistance besides being almost continually in a state in which it would be impossible to transact business, he has influence at home (I believe with some of the Generals of the Republic) that has up to this time secured him immunity in his strange course of life.

Mr. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has for the last few days been seriously indisposed. The King told me yesterday that when he was better he thought he should desire him to address a note to Mr. Dryer with reference to his behaviour at the Palace.

I do not think that the King or his Ministers will take any steps in the matter without consulting me; and I feel that I shall be acting according to your Lordship's wishes in deprecating any measure that may draw upon the King or his Government the displeasure of the United States.

I am not without hope that Mr. Dryer's glaring misconduct and Their Majesties' dignified forbearance will rally to the King and his Government the more respectable portion of the American Community, who for a time have been misled by the absurd fear of a predominant English influence in these Islands.

10. Synge to Russell (No. 22), November 30, 1862.

(F. O. 58/97)

I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that on the 28th instant the King and Queen were confirmed by Bishop Staley.

Their Majesties went to the Church in State escorted by Their Household Cavalry, and attended by all the Cabinet Ministers.

The day was a great National holiday, being the anniversary of the Ratification of the Independence of the Islands. The temporary Cathedral was thronged by the Hawaiians who appear much gratified by having at last among them the English Church for which they have been since the days of Vancouver so anxious.

The Diplomatic and Consular Bodies attended by special invitation, with the exception of Mr. Dryer who sent an excuse to Mr. Wyllie on the plea of indisposition.

After a perusal of my confidential despatch No. 21 of this day's date, your Lordship will perhaps not be astonished at the United States Commissioner's Absence from the Ceremony.

11. Synge to Murray⁴, December 2, 1862.

(F. O. 58/97)

My official despatches of the day before yesterday will tell you of our little doings in this little Kingdom. But you may like to know in a less formal way the state of feeling and public opinion here. Persons in England connected with these Islands were in the habit of warning me against the French Commissioner here, and assuring me that my greatest trouble would be to keep on pleasant or even decent terms with a man who for years had unceasingly laboured to thwart all the wholesome reforms of this Govt. and all the good counsels of my Predecessor. At Boston I heard of the death of this Gentleman, M. Perrin; but on my arrival here I found that the distrust of France still existed among both Englishmen and Americans. I am afraid that it cannot be denied that the late M. Perrin's conduct was in the highest degree offensive to the Hawaiian Govt. and to his own colleagues. He seems to have been ever restlessly striving by some diplomatic coup d'état to recover the good opinion of the French Foreign Office which he had forfeited early in his official career. Hence his never ending complaints and claims for redress, his perpetual threats to withdraw to France and even to bombard Honolulu. Luckily all his efforts to obtain for himself éclat and distinction by such means were foiled by the moderation of the French Govt. Unfortunately however he succeeded in planting in the breasts of the King and of his Ministers a dread and distrust of the Govt. which he represented.

⁴ James Murray, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

M. de Varigny who was his Chancellier and who by his judicious counsels and by the moral weight of his character was able sometimes to keep M. Perrin a little within bounds is now acting as Commissioner until M. de Castelnau shall arrive from Japan. While from a feeling of propriety he avoids appearing to blame the conduct of his predecessor it is easy to see by his own proceedings that he does not approve of it.

For my humble part, it seemed to me as soon as I arrived here that one of my first duties would be to endeavor to put an end if I could to the traditional jealousy between France and England in these Islands. And I found M. de Varigny ready and anxious to meet me half way. We are on terms of the greatest social intimacy, and in public matters exchange our views with the greatest frankness and unreserve.⁵ I think too that I have to a great measure succeeded in persuading the King and Mr. Wyllie that the régime of bullying and coercion ended with M. Perrin and that they should adopt towards M. de Varigny the same attitude of friendship and confidence which they at once adopted towards myself.

The Americans, they are nearly all Northerners here, embittered by their ill success at home are of course vapouring and abusive; but my French colleague and myself hope by continuing to act towards them in a spirit of conciliation and courtesy, to live down their jealousy and ill will and to convince them that we have no hostile designs towards them.

Perhaps you will shew these remarks to Lord Russell if you think them worthy of his attention. . . .

I flatter myself that my influence with the King and Mr. Wyllie will enable me to do some good here. It is only the natural legitimate influence of an English gentleman in whose straightforwardness and friendship they can entirely confide. I wish my salary were such as to enable me to live in at least as good style as my colleagues and the other English residents here. It should be at least £1800 or £2000. I should say so if the case were another man's perhaps more emphatically than I venture to say so in my own.

Queen Emma was my God daughter at her baptism. I have sent for a religious book for her which she much wanted to have. If my friend Anthony Trollope brings or sends it to you to the F. O. will you kindly send it to me by post as by any other means it would be very long in coming, and Her Majesty wishes to get it as soon as possible. . . .

⁵ In his book, *Quatorze Ans aux Iles Sandwich* (Paris, 1874), page 182, M. de Varigny says: "I had by no means concealed, on many occasions, the uneasiness which the covetousness and the ambition of the United States inspired in me. Being convinced of the necessity of rallying against them and of grouping together all the European interests in the Islands in order to make a force capable of resistance, I had cultivated with Mr. Synge, then Consul General for England, intimate relations, which were based upon a perfect harmony of views. I had found in him during my service in the French consulate an intelligent colleague and a sincere friend. 'Idem velle atque idem nolle ea firma amicitia est.' We wished the same thing, we had the same enemies."

12. Foreign Office to Synge (No. 4), March 24, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

I am directed by Earl Russell to inform you that His Lordship instructed H M's Minister at Washington to communicate with the U. S. Govt. on the Subject of your Despatch marked Confidential No. [21] of the 30th of November of last year relative to the conduct of Mr. Dryer the U. S. Commr. at Honolulu. I am now to transmit to you a Copy of a Despatch from Lord Lyons stating that it had been decided to remove Mr. Dryer from his Post.

13. Foreign Office to Synge (No. 8), July 17, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

* * * * *

I have to acquaint you, . . . that The Prince of Wales approves of your having consented to act as Proxy for H.B.H. as Sponsor at the Baptism of The Prince of the Sandwich Islands. . . .

14. Synge to Russell (No. 15), June 5, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

On the 25th ultimo the Birthday of Her Most Gracious Majesty was celebrated here with more than usual demonstrations of loyalty by the British Residents, and of respect on the part of the Hawaiian and foreign community.

On my hoisting my flag it was saluted with a salvo of twenty one guns by the British residents, who had borrowed the cannon of the King's Artillery for the purpose.

The flags on the Palace, on all the Government Buildings, and on the residences of the Diplomatic and Consular Agents, were simultaneously hoisted.

In the morning I received visits of congratulation from the Diplomatic and Consular Bodies, and from the residents generally.

The King, and His Royal Highness Prince Kamehameha, who on such occasions usually send their Aides de Camp as bearers of their congratulations, called in person, to mark, as the King told me, their high sense of the honour done to them by our Sovereign in standing God-mother to the late Prince, and in sending such kind and condescending letters of condolence to his bereaved parents.

In the evening I had the honour to entertain the King, Prince Kamehameha, their father Kakuanoa, the Ministers and several members of the Diplomatic and Consular Bodies at dinner, when Queen Victoria's health was proposed by the King in a speech full of feeling.

The only exception to the unanimity with which Her Majesty's Birthday was celebrated by all classes was in the case of the United States Commissioner who, though living exactly opposite to me, neglected to hoist his flag or to call upon me, with the rest of the Diplomatic Corps. The United States Consul both hoisted his flag, and paid me the customary congratulatory visit. Mr. Dryer also declined to attend my official dinner on the ground of ill health.

That Mr. Dryer's conduct was highly blamed by his countrymen, the letters of which I have the honour to enclose copies abundantly testify. In fact nothing could be more gratifying than the zeal shewn by the American residents here to evince respect to the Queen on this occasion.

Mr. Dryer and I have had no misunderstanding and but little intercourse. Since the dinner at the Palace referred to in my despatch No. 21 of the 30th of November last, he has been almost continually in a state of hopeless intoxication; and latterly, since he has been officially informed that he is superseded by a Mr. McBride, who is to have the title of Minister Resident, he appears to have become perfectly regardless of all decency and decorum.

I should state that Mr. Gregg, who wrote one of the letters of which I enclose copies, was formerly United States Commissioner here himself, and is in intellect and position the foremost man among the American residents.

I must not omit to mention that there was a special service in the English temporary Cathedral on Her Majesty's Birthday, which was attended by their Majesties and by many of the principal residents, as well Hawaiian as foreign and English.

15. Synge to Russell (No. 17), July 5, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that Mr. McBride arrived here on the 16th ultimo to supersede Mr. Dryer, the United States Commissioner. Mr. McBride however is invested with the higher title of Minister Resident.

The fact that the Cabinet of Washington have thought fit to give this rank to their Representative in these Islands is not without significance. It shews that they are determined to do what they can to restore to the Americans in this Kingdom the predominant influence which until very lately they unquestionably possessed; and to place their agents here on a higher footing as regards rank and emolument than is held by the Representatives of Great Britain and of France.

The King and the Hawaiian Government are evidently greatly pleased at receiving for the first time an Agent of Ministerial rank, as Your

Lordship will gather from the report of Mr. McBride's presentation which I have the honour to inclose together with the remarks of the local newspaper on the subject.

Mr. McBride himself is a rough back woodsman from Oregon, that territory having wrested from Massachusetts the privilege which it had so long enjoyed of nominating the Envoy to these Islands. Singularly rough and uncouth in his manners and appearance, Mr. McBride still appears to be a man of fair average ability and, so far as I can judge on so short an acquaintance, of friendly disposition towards this Government and towards his foreign colleagues. He has no acquaintance whatever with the rules of diplomacy or of international law; but I think his knowledge of his own deficiency in these respects will probably prevent his thrusting himself forward to enter into any unnecessary discussion with this Government. He has one great advantage over his predecessor,—in being a man of sober habits and decent life.

Yesterday being the Anniversary of American Independence was observed with great solemnity by the United States citizens resident here.

As a matter of course, I hoisted my flag, called on the American Minister, and attended the meeting in honour of the day to which he officially invited me. But my doing so appears to have given special satisfaction to the Americans here, who were apprehensive that I might decline to take any notice of the day in consequence of Mr. Dryer's gross disrespect on the occasions of Her Majesty's Birthday. I should however have thought myself much to blame if I had retaliated on Mr. McBride a slight offered by his Predecessor; and I trust that my acting as I did will meet with Your Lordship's approval.

16. Synge to Russell (No. 18), July 5, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

The King and the Minister of Foreign Affairs have frequently expressed to me their great regret that these Islands should be so seldom visited by English and French men of war.

During the present state of things in America this Government is particularly apprehensive that its neutrality may be violated by vessels of the United States Navy who may follow into Hawaiian ports, and there attack, Confederate cruizers; or that a pretext may be made of their giving lawful shelter to confederate vessels putting in here to refit, in order to justify the United States Government in some act of aggression upon the Independence of these Islands.

It is quite true that no such case has arisen. Probably no such case will arise. But it is by no means an impossible contingency.

Again, California has ever coveted the possession of these Islands which she could furnish sufficient ships and men to invade and conquer

without much difficulty. If, in the possible eventual disruption of the United States, California should, as many persons suppose she will, declare herself an independent state, there can, I think, be little doubt that she would endeavor to "annex" these Islands, the possession of which, both in a commercial and strategic point of view, would be almost invaluable to her.

Captain Richards, who was lately here in H.M.S. "Hecate" was strongly impressed with the necessity of our Men of war visiting these Islands more frequently; and I believe that naval men consider that in the event of a war between any two of the Great Maritime Nations, the Country which first contrived to get one or two Men of war into this harbour would be able to have and to hold the controul of the North Pacific.

17. Synge to Russell (No. 30), December 12, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

It is my painful duty to announce to your Lordship the death of the King of these Islands, Kamehameha the Fourth, which melancholy event took place on the morning of the 30th ultimo.

Since the death of his only Son, the Prince of Hawaii, in August 1862, shortly after my arrival here, the King's health and strength appeared wholly to fail him; and it was evident to those about him that his naturally robust constitution would be unable to resist the pressure of grief and disappointment which then bore upon him. Still, no one expected that his end was so near, and he died quietly and without a struggle before his wife or attendants, or even the Court Physician who was present, suspected that there was any immediate danger.

His death occurred on Monday. On the previous Saturday he had arranged to hold a levee at the Palace, because, as he told me, he thought he had no right to let his own private sorrows continue to throw a gloom over the place and over society. But when the day came, he was too unwell to be present; and the Queen was deputed to represent His Majesty on the occasion. Still, his indisposition was said to be so slight, that no one took alarm at his absence.

A week before his death he called at my house, in Company with the Queen, and though very weak and pale, his conversation was remarkably cheerful.

According to the custom of this Country, the funeral will not take place until six weeks from the date of the King's death. The Queen passes her whole time by the side of the coffin, which she never leaves by day or by night. She sends for my wife and myself every day, as the fact of our having had the honour to act as Proxies for Her Majesty and the Prince of Wales at the Baptism of her son, gives her, as she is

pleased to say, a special right to our sympathy and counsel. When I was with Her Majesty yesterday, she told me that the late King had been anxious to send to the Queen and to the Prince of Wales copies of the Hawaiian Prayer book which had been translated from the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England entirely and solely by His Majesty; but that he had died before he could get them suitably bound; and she added that she herself should like to carry out his intention. She accordingly gave me the two books which I now have the honour to inclose; having first of all written on the fly leaf of each with her own hand the inscription "To Her Majesty Queen Victoria (To His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales) from the Widow of the Translator, Emma." With each of these volumes is also a translation of the King's preface recommending the Church of England to his people.

Queen Emma also begged me to say that it is her intention to write to Her Majesty after the late King's funeral.

I have the honour to inclose to Your Lordship a Copy of a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs transmitting the Proclamation of the new King and other documents that he wished me to transmit to my Government; among them an article which appeared in the "Polynesian" newspaper, which can hardly be considered too eulogistic of the late King, whose great and good qualities were many, whose foibles were few and whose chief misfortune it was, that he was in advance not only of his own people, but of many of the foreigners who surrounded him, in liberality of sentiment, freedom from prejudice, and I may add, in general refinement of mind and manners.

Nor would it be easy to over praise Queen Emma who has passed her life in endeavouring to elevate by many good works but mainly by her own example the character of those of her own sex and who is venerated and beloved by all classes of natives and foreigners in these Islands.

The fact that Her Majesty Queen Victoria has on so many recent occasions evinced a most kind and gracious interest in the Royal Family of these Islands has induced me to make this despatch more lengthy and detailed than I should otherwise have done.

18. Syngé to Russell (No. 32), December 12, 1863.

(F. O. 58/98)

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The present King [Kamehameha V] has as yet made no public declaration of his intended policy; but I have had several confidential conversations with him, from which I infer that while he entertains the same liberal and enlightened views as his brother he is more resolutely determined to carry them out. Since the late King's succession to the Throne in 1854 the Prince has always held office, either as Minister of the

Interior or as Minister of Finance, and has enjoyed a considerable reputation for knowledge of business and administrative ability.

Inferior to his late brother in refinement, grace of manner, and general culture, he is I think his superior in energy, perseverance and strength of will; and I have little doubt that under his rule the material resources of the Country will be greatly developed; and that the moral and industrial education of the people, to which His Majesty has always specially devoted himself, will make rapid progress.

The King mentioned to me confidentially a day or two ago his intention to offer a seat in his Cabinet to M. de Varigny, who, since the death of M. Perrin in April 1862 till the arrival of M. Desnoyers last month, had been acting French Commissioner here. Since then M. de Varigny has informed me that the King has asked him to accept the Portfolio of Minister of Finance, and that he has agreed to do so subject to the sanction of his own Government.

This appointment, I think, a very excellent one; as not only M. de Varigny is a person of great talents and probity, but his selection to fill such a post will probably be very gratifying to the French Government, who have often complained that no French subject has ever been called to the Councils of this Monarchy. While on this subject, I may mention that a few days previous to the late King's death, Mr. Wyllie asked me confidentially if I would accept the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; because if so he should be only too glad to resign in my favour and to retire to his estate on Kauai. I thanked him extremely for the honour which he did me in making such a proposal, but said that many reasons, which I need not explain, would prevent my taking office under this Government, though I should always be glad to lend them every assistance in my power while occupying my present position.

On the day after his brother's death the King came up to me in the palace and said; "I am very anxious that my intercourse with you may be as friendly and pleasant as my brother's was, and that you will allow me to consult you as confidentially as he was in the habit of doing."

19. Syngé to Russell (No. 11), May 18, 1864.

(F. O. 58/103)

I had the honour yesterday to present to the King in a private audience the letter from Her Majesty condoling with him on the death of his Brother, and congratulating him on his own accession to the throne. . . .

In the remarks which I made to the King on presenting Her Majesty's letter I was specially careful to dwell on the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the Independent Sovereignty of these Islands should be maintained intact; and I did so, because the ultra American party have

within the last fortnight again raised the foolish and mischievous cry that Great Britain is intriguing to obtain possession of this Archipelago.

They found this absurd statement on a Proclamation issued by the King with the advice of his Ministers, summoning a Convention of Delegates from the Nobles and People to discuss the revision of certain articles in the present Constitution. . . .

I have had frequent conversations with the King and with his Ministers on this Subject; and I believe that He and they wish and intend these Delegates to be freely elected, to use no undue Government influence in their election, and to abide by their decision whatever it may be.

The old American Annexationist party however cling to the existing Constitution; and especially object to the revision of one article which stipulates that the King, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, shall have the right to alienate his dominions to any Foreign Power. This article the King and his Government consider humiliating to a Sovereign Independent Power; and they hope that the Convention will consent to its abrogation.

It is easy to conceive why such abrogation should be distasteful to the avowed or covert advocates of Annexation to the United States; but it is less easy to understand their effrontery in endeavouring to persuade the People that the Royal Proclamation is a coup d'Etat on the part of the King to subvert the Constitution, establish Arbitrary power, and to found a State Church in the person of Bishop Staley and the English Missionary Clergy, preparatory to handing the Islands over to Great Britain.

The King is about to leave Honolulu today, to make a tour through the different Islands with a view of explaining to his people vivâ voce what his views and wishes really are, and how greatly they have been misrepresented.

His Majesty will also, I believe, on my recommendation address a letter to his subjects, and cause it to be distributed throughout the whole Kingdom, in which he will caution his people not to give heed to the interested misstatements of factious persons.

From my knowledge of the character of the King, and of that of his Ministers, I feel confident that their action will be prudent and strictly constitutional throughout; and I need hardly say that I have exerted all my influence to encourage them to maintain this wise and moderate line of conduct.

20. Synge to Russell (No. 14), September 2, 1864.

(F. O. 58/103)

With reference to my despatch No. 11 of the 18th of May last, I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that the King met his Nobles and

the Delegates of his People on the 7th of July, when he addressed them in the Speech of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.

The delegates were mainly elected under the direct controul of the American Missionaries, whose influence has long been waning in and near the Capital, but who have still great power in the out-lying districts and in the more remote Islands. These Delegates were pledged to oppose every alteration in the Constitution, which was framed in 1852 by Dr. Judd and Judge Lee, and forced upon the unfortunate Kamehameha the third.

After a stormy session of five weeks, in which I am bound to say the opposition was most factious, if not seditious, the King dissolved the Convention and abrogated the Constitution, by the Proclamation of which a Copy is herewith enclosed; and a week afterwards promulgated a new Constitution which was solemnly sworn to by His Majesty, his Ministers, and the members of his Privy Council on the 20th ultimo.

It is the opinion of nearly all persons, not immediately connected with the American Missionaries, that the amendments introduced by the King were imperatively called for, and that His Majesty has shewn throughout the whole crisis admirable judgement, and the greatest moderation and liberality.

Mr. Wyllie was very desirous that my French and American Colleagues should in acknowledging his Communication in reference to these matters, express our confidence in His Majesty's good intentions as our doing so could not fail to produce a good effect in the Country generally. I accordingly addressed to His Excellency the letter of which I have the honour to enclose a Copy, the sentiments of which are, I believe, shared in by all the intelligent and unprejudiced foreigners living in this Country.

My French Colleague wrote a very similar letter to Mr. Wyllie.

The United States Minister Resident was absent on a tour through the other Islands of the Archipelago.

In 1852 when the old Constitution was framed, the then reigning Sovereign, Kamehameha the Third was enfeebled in mind and body. . . . Judge Lee and Dr. Judd who were then paramount in the Government and who were both New England Americans gave to the Constitution a character so democratic, that Mr. Wyllie and others saw that it was utterly unsuitable to an independent Monarchy, and protested against several of its provisions; such as unlimited suffrage, the right of the Missionary preachers to hold seats in the Legislature etc; but the American elements in the Royal Councils prevailed; and not only was the King coerced into swearing to it, but his heir, afterwards Kamehameha the Fourth who died last year, was likewise compelled to do so.

Kamehameha the Fourth has often expressed to me bitter regret at having taken that oath as Heir apparent. His Majesty was a man of strict principles and delicate conscientiousness, and he told me that

although he saw that the enforced Constitution was essentially unfitted for his people, and was calculated (if not intended) to undermine the independent Sovereignty of these Islands, still he had sworn to govern by it, and nothing should induce him to violate his oath.

On his death, the present King, bound by no such oath, consulted the Judges of his Supreme Court as to his right to call a Convention to reconsider the Constitution. Their opinion being favourable the Convention was convoked. I have already reported how it acted, and how the King dealt with it.

The ultra missionary faction are extremely angry, but their wrath is neither shared by the Natives nor by the better class of Americans and other foreigners. The almost universal opinion is that the King was compelled in self defense to act as he did, and that the Constitution which he has given to his people is singularly liberal and well suited to the degree of civilization existing here. A reference to that Instrument will, I think, shew that such opinion is sound and just.

It is a significant fact that the feature in the new Constitution which has given the greatest umbrage to the Missionary Party is the omission from that Instrument of the Clause introduced by Dr. Judd in the old Constitution which stipulated that the King and his Government should in case of necessity be empowered to alienate to any other nation the territorial Sovereignty of the Islands.

In connection with this part of the subject, I may mention that the cry always raised here by the American missionaries when they desire to injure the Government is that the King and his Ministers intend to hand over the Country to Great Britain; and during the late crisis it has been frequently alleged that I have obtained for my Government such a cession.

Mr. Wyllie wrote me a private letter alluding to such reports and expressing much soreness at them. To me, however, the rumours seemed so ridiculous, that I alluded to them in my reply, as utterly unworthy of serious consideration. Since then, however, His Excellency has informed [me] that the same reports are current at Washington and that Mr. Seward affects to attach importance to them. He added that it had given him great pleasure to be able to send a copy of my letter to Chief Justice Allen who is on a special mission to the United States. . . .

21. *Edward P. Bond*⁶ to *Anson Burlingame*,⁷ March 9, 1866.

(From Letter Press Book of the Hawaiian Club of Boston, in Harvard College Library)

[Points out 1st, that American influence ought to be paramount at the Hawaiian Islands.]

2nd. American influence with the Government is very weak—nearly gone; because:

I. We have been very poorly represented there. We have had but one both able and respectable Commissioner at Honolulu during the last fifteen year—viz. the Hon Luther Severance, appointed by Pres't Taylor. Of his four successors, two were utterly inefficient, and two were notorious drunkards.

II. Because England has kept there able officials, who have worked intelligently and systematically to forward her interests, and to break down ours.

III. Because the same difference has characterized the American and English members of the Native Government. The ablest men have, for ten years past, been English. Mr. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a Scotchman, lately deceased, led the Government completely after the death of Chief Justice Lee, in 1857. He shrewdly selected for his American colleagues weak men who could be ruled by their interests, their appetites or their vanity. He, and his friends, succeeded in committing these men to measures anti-republican and anti-American, and, these men, once in his power, were his most useful tools. Thus all the present American officers hold under a Constitution⁸ forced upon the people by a *Coup d'Etat*. This Constitution is aristocratic in form and tendency, English, and out-Englishing English in character, while that which it supplanted was strongly democratic, the exponent and outgrowth of American ideas.

[3rd. This anti-American influence is still at work and now centers in the Reformed Catholic Church. The Bishop and his clergy perhaps are sincere and free from political aims.] If so, they are being used by shrewd, unprincipled men for political ends. I would fain think the same of some Americans in the Hawaiian Government. The Chief Justice,⁹ for instance, would not willingly join an anti-American movement. The conspiritors knew this. They took the time, when he was out of the country to overthrow the liberal Constitution. On his return his choice was to take oath under the usurping government, or to leave his office. He chose to take the oath, and thus committed himself, as many of his

⁶ Secretary of the Hawaiian Club of Boston and Assistant Secretary of the Boston Board of Trade.

⁷ United States Minister to China. Mr. Burlingame was in the United States at this time, and it was thought that he would return to his post by way of Honolulu.

⁸ The Constitution of 1864.

⁹ Elisha H. Allen.

friends feel, on the side of wrong and of his country's enemies. We don't believe that he sees this matter as we do, but we feel that he has been blinded, partly, perhaps, by interest and his love of peace, largely, no doubt, by a hope of exerting an influence for good in evil times. We feel, however, that such a defection harms our national interests in exact proportion to the abilities of the man, and to his personal claims to respect and regard.

4th. The Hawaiian *people* are with us, though their *Government* is against us, and we owe it to them and to ourselves to stand by their rights, and to uphold, by our moral support, our American missionaries and others, through whom they have been educated into the love and capacity for freedom.



